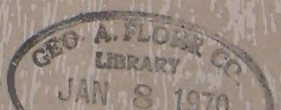
LEXINGTON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY
BL80.W6
OC6 W639
Widgery, Alban Greg/The comparative stud
30361000570051

Bosworth Memorial Library
Lexington Theological Seminary
Lexington, Kentucky



THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF RELIGIONS

By the same Author

PERSONALITY AND ATONEMENT	1918
HUMAN NEEDS AND THE JUSTIFICATION OF RELIGIOUS BELIEFS	1918
IMMORTALITY AND OTHER ESSAYS	1919
GOODS AND BADS: OUTLINES OF A PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE	1920

With Dr. H. Weinel

JESUS IN THE XIXth CENTURY AND AFTER	1914

Translations of Dr. R. Eucken's

LIFE'S BASIS AND LIFE'S IDEAL	1911
NATURALISM OR IDEALISM ?	1912

Jerusalem

THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF RELIGIONS

A SYSTEMATIC SURVEY

BY

ALBAN G. WIDGERY, M.A.

Lecturer in the Philosophy of Religion in the University of Cambridge; formerly Professor of Philosophy and the Comparative Study of Religions, the College, Baroda.

3194.

LONDON

WILLIAMS & NORGATE

1923

14648

OC6
W639

Lexington, Kentucky

TO

VINCENT HENRY STANTON D. D.

Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge

PREFACE

The purpose of this book is not to state and discuss theories about religion or the different constituents of the religions. Though some reference has been made to particular theories, where it has seemed necessary, the main aim is to describe some of the chief facts of the religions, and these, as far as possible in the language of the sacred scriptures, liturgies, and formularies of the religions themselves. Only by the method of frequent quotation from such documents does it appear possible to convey the impression which the religion as a living reality itself gives. The discussion of the significance and the relations of these facts and of the various theories which have been propounded with regard to religion is reserved for another time and place. Nevertheless, it may be stated here that this comparative study of religions was taken up from the conviction that the philosophy of religion needs to be developed in relation with a much wider empirical survey of religion than is usually found in works on that subject. The neglect of the empirical study of religions by philosophical thinkers is much to be regretted. For that study may have important influence on philosophical thought, just as in the past the studies of mathematics, biology, and psychology have had. The late Dr. Merz, in his survey of the thought of the nineteenth century, has expressed the opinion that the study of religion will have an effect on the progress of philosophical thought during the twentieth century.

The book has not been written for the specific use of students of any particular religion. It endeavours to represent with scientific impartiality the various aspects of the religions concerned, though always with the desire to give the most favourable view of the details, to whatever religion they belong. The fact that the book is meant for readers of different religions has involved the inclusion of matter which for the adherent of this or that religion concerned in each instance may appear commonplace: but the inclusion has been necessary for the information of those of other religions. Much that is of importance has had to be omitted in order to keep the volume within reasonable limits. I hope to publish a work treating of religions as "wholes" and more historically, under the title *Religions and their Modern Tendencies*, which will include material not embodied here.

Of English thinkers who have carried on wide and detailed research in the study of religions, with due attention to the demands of a rigorous scientific method and with a keen philosophic spirit and acumen, Dr. J. Estlin Carpenter and Dr. F. B. Jevons are in the forefront. I wish to express here my indebtedness not merely to their writings, but also for their continued sympathy and encouragement in my work in this direction. This book is written on lines different from Dr. Jevons' *Introduction to the History of Religion*, but my general attitude corresponds closely with his. It is strongly recommended that Dr. Jevons' volume should be read along with the present work. Dr. Estlin Carpenter's *Theism in Mediaeval India* must, in my opinion, be regarded as the standard work on that subject: I regret that it came into my hands too late to make any but the most cursory use of it. Dr. A. B. Cook's monumental monograph *Zeus* does not cease to inspire me with admiration and afford me instruction: it should be considered indis-

pensable by all students of religion. The late Dr. James Hope Moulton gave me valuable help in my study of Zoroastrianism, but in that my greatest debt is due to the veteran Parsi scholar, Dr. J. J. Modi. He obtained for me indispensable books, and sent me advanced pages of an exhaustive treatise on *Social and Religious Customs of the Parsis*, which he has in the press. To a devotee of Jainism, a faith, like Zoroastrianism, in importance out of all proportion to the number of its adherents, I owe much, which I would acknowledge here in the hope that his religious *confreres* will take up and continue his work:—the late Devendra Prasad Jain. Through the works he produced as publisher, and in the loan of manuscripts of modern works on Jainism, his assistance was invaluable. In the friendly enthusiasm of his replies to my queries, I felt something of what it means to be a true Jain. During my six and a half years in India I have received incidentally from scholars of different religions help which cannot be explicitly acknowledged: to Professor Nawab Ali of Baroda and all others I would express my thanks. For the statements made in this book, unless they are quotations or have a reference as to their authority, I am alone responsible. In a subject so vast, of which details vary in different sects and localities, to escape errors and the appearance of errors is impossible. I appeal to my friends of different religions, to assist me with criticisms that may occur to them on reading the text.

This volume contains the substance of lectures given in Baroda in 1915. But these were entirely recast and elaborated for a course of lectures before the University of Mysore in 1921. I take this opportunity to thank the University for the honour of the invitation.

The illustrations have been gathered as opportunity offered. They may be of interest in their relation with different religions and different aspects of religion. For

permission to reproduce them, I have to thank Mr. F. Lester, The American Colony Shop, Jerusalem, for the frontispiece; Mr. G. K. Devare, Bombay for the Jain Temple; Sir. N. Manubhai Mehta, Baroda, for the Brahmin Marriage Ceremony; Mr. M. M. Murzban, Lonavla, for the Zoroastrian Fire Temple; Mr. P. Barton, Bangalore, for the Great Temple, Tanjore; the late Devendra Prasad Jain, Arrah, for the Jaina Symbols; Mr. Saeed, Benares, for Sex Symbols in Religious Worship; Messrs. Bourne and Shepherd, Bombay, for At Benares; Messrs. Johnston and Hoffman, Calcutta, for the Sikh Temple; the editor of the "Harvest Field," London, for Goddess Worship.

For many reasons I would have preferred to delay the publication of this book in order that it might be improved by further study and revision; but I feel under certain obligations to publish it on leaving the service of His Highness, the Maharajah Gaekwar of Baroda. It was the personal interest of this pioneer Prince which led to the inauguration of these studies in his State, and gave me on Indian soil opportunities not to be found elsewhere. In expressing my gratitude to His Highness I may venture to hope that he will continue to support a pioneer work to which his own generous, broad-minded sympathies and deep insight gave birth.

In conclusion, in dedicating this book to my teacher, the Rev. Dr. V. H. Stanton, I am deeply conscious of its inadequacy to the tribute I wish to pay him both for his personal encouragement from the first days of my undergraduate life, and as a token, though slight, of great appreciation for what he has done in Cambridge to promote the study of the Philosophy of Religion and of Christian Ethics.

ALBAN G. WIDGERY.

Baroda, July 1st. 1922.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

SCIENTIFIC THEOLOGY AND THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF RELIGIONS

A science is a developing system of propositions arising from relations between reason and particular facts. 1

The Data of Theology

Theology depends for its data upon experience. 2

Some attempts to define religion : religion is strictly indefinable. 3

The distinction between religion and magic. 3

Some attempts to classify religions. 4

The formerly accepted distinction between Natural and Revealed religion is rejected. 5

The Aim of Theology

The aim of theology is both intellectual and religious. 7

The Scope and Methods of Theology

Theology may be divided into : I. The Empirical Study of Religions; and II. The Philosophy of Religion. These may each be subdivided. 8

The Psychology of Religion. 10

The History of Religion. 12

The Comparative Study of Religions

A truly scientific comparative study of religions is of recent date. 13

The main problems of the science. 14

(*a*) Religions may be compared as wholes, as "types of life". 15

(*b*) Religions may be compared with respect to their historical development. 16
Questions concerning the origin of religion belong to the History of Religions. 17
The influences affecting the external growth of religions. 18
(*c*) Religions may be compared with respect to their constituent elements. 18
The need of uniformity in the statements of results of the investigations concerning religions. 19
A systematic plan for the study of religions. 20
The material used in the investigations must not be arbitrarily limited. 21
The symbolic in religions. 24
Narrow and wide types of research in the comparative study of religions. 26
The science is empirical. It includes a search for principles. 27
Some principles of method. 28
The Comparative Study of Religions is not concerned with judgments of the values of the constituents of religions or of religions as wholes. 31
The danger of an arbitrary Naturalism or Spiritualism : the transition to the Philosophy of Religion. 31

CHAPTER I

THE SOURCES AND NATURE OF RELIGIOUS TRUTH

Truth arises in individual minds and at particular times. 33
Nature-worship in its simplest form implies no knowledge more than that of immediate presentation. 34
With Animism, divination begins. 34
Divination (a) from natural phenomena; (b) with artificial means. 35
Prophets and saints, as channels of religious truth. 40
Philosophers and contemplative reflection. 43
Angels and divine incarnations as sources of truth. 43
Reason and imagination in the formation of religious beliefs. 44
The poetical form of early sacred compositions. 45

Sacred Scriptures

Shintoism has no genuine scriptures. 46
The Books of Taoism. 46
The Confucian Classics. 47
The Sacred Literature of Egypt. 48

Religious compositions in Assyria and Babylonia. 49
Zoroastrian Scriptures. 49
The Sacred Books of the Hindus. 52
Buddhist Canons. 54
The authoritative Literature of Jainism. 57
The Sacred Writings of the Jews. 57
The Christian Bible. 59
The Muslim Quran. 60
The Granth Saheb of the Sikhs. 63

The Development of Religious Knowledge

The composite character of the sacred writings, and the motives for the theories of their finality. 65
The position of the priesthood in relation to religious knowledge. 65
The question of interpretation of scriptures is always vital. 68
Forms of interpretation. The Dogmatic. 68
The Literal. 71
The Rationalistic and Philosophical. 71
The Mystical. 74
The Allegorical and Symbolical. 76
The Kabbalistic and Theosophical. 78
The Historical and Psychological: the modern attitude. 79

The Sources and Nature of Religious Truth

Modern thought and the sources and nature of religious truth. 82

Note on the relation of women to the development of religious knowledge. 83

CHAPTER II

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS, GOOD AND BAD

Religion is dependent on objective impressions. 85
The theory of an original monotheistic revelation. 86
The persistent impression of unity in experience. 86
Simple Nature-Worship is at the perceptual level. 87
Distinction of the "upper all" and the "lower all". A Vedic hymn to heaven and earth. 87
From the duad to the triad. 89
The predominance of the sun in the upper all. The prominent role of the sun in early religions. An Egyptian hymn to the sun as supreme. 89
Mana and the impression of power. The Roman *numen*. 93

The stage of Animism reached with the consciousness of power within. 93
The social character of religion and the recognition of tribal and local deities. 94
The great Nature powers and minor departmental spirits. 94
The deification of men and the humanisation of the gods. 96
The formation of polytheistic pantheons, and the development beyond Polytheism through religious practice and reflection. 97
The development of anthropomorphism in myth and the making of images. Theriomorphism transitional. 99
The sex distinction and sex symbols in religion. 101
The aspect of " order " and " regularity " in experience and its relation to religious belief. 102
Ethical advance and its effect on religious ideas of the supernatural. 103
Philosophical reflection, first predominantly among Indians and Greeks, has influenced the many only indirectly. 104
The Vedic rishis turn from the world without to the world within: the recognition of unity. 106
The theoretical Pantheism and the practical Polytheism of Hinduism. 108
The Upanishadic doctrine of *Brahman*. 108
The Theistic tendencies in Hindu religion : Shaivism and Vaishnavism. 112
The doctrine of the *Bhagavadgita*. 114
For Jainism God is *jiva* in its perfection. 116
The attitude of early Buddhism to the idea of God: the impression of an idealistic universal One in Mahayana Buddhism. 116
The Zoroastrian doctrine of *Ahura Mazda*. 120
The development of the Jewish idea of God : the description of the concept reached. 122
The Christian idea of God arose out of the Jewish but was profoundly modified by the person of Jesus being regarded as the incarnation of God. 125
The attributes of God as described in the *Quran*. 128
The Sikh conception, influenced by Islam in opposing Polytheism, is nevertheless closely akin to Upanishadic thought. 131
The prevalence of sex distinctions in the objects and the subjects of religious worship : their significance. 132
The cults of the feminine, especially on the Mediterranean coasts in the Roman period and in Hinduism. 133

Two Hindu hymns to the mother goddess. 134
Beliefs in arch-angels and angels. 135
The duality of light and dark; the distinction of good and evil spirits. The idea of a leading evil spirit. 137
Opposition to dualism led to the belief in God as the creator of evil. 139
Aversion to ascribing evil to God led to Manichaeanism, to acosmism, and to emphasis on the idea of its origin in the wrong use of the freedom with which other spirits are endowed. 140

The Development of the Idea of God

The idea of God in its different forms is an expression of a felt reality which transcends Nature and the community. 142
The facts of power and of order in Nature, of the moral, of sex love, and of intellectual reflection and mystic contemplation have helped to make more explicit the immediate experience of the divine and to suggest forms of expression of it. 142

CHAPTER III

THE SOUL: ITS NATURE, ORIGIN, AND DESTINY

The relation of religion to the concepts of the soul. 148
The immediate awareness of the soul and the varying forms of expression of its nature. The early association with the physiological. 149
The phenomena of sleep and of dreams. 150
The nature of the soul is known directly in its own experiences. 152
The moral experience of the soul due not only to the community but also to a Power transcending it. 153
The nature of the soul as revealed in abstract reflection and mystic contemplation. 154
The Shinto doctrine of the soul indefinite. 155
The Chinese, Babylonian, and Egyptian descriptions. 156
Greek Religion and Philosophy and the effect of the latter on all subsequent Western ideas of the soul. Neo-platonism. 157
The doctrines of the soul in India. 163
The *Upanishads* and the identification of the *Atman* with *Brahman*. 163
The Vaishnavite distinction of the individual soul and God. 166
The Jaina doctrine of the soul as an ultimate form of existence. 167
The Buddhistic doctrine of the self as a collocation. 169
The Mahayana doctrine tends to a position similar to that of the *Upanishads*. 172

The description of the soul in Zoroastrianism sufficient for and adapted to its ethical character. 172
The Hebrew use of the terms "soul" and "spirit": the relation of spirit in man to the Spirit of God. 175
The development of the Christian doctrine of man from the Hebrew under the influence of Jesus and Paul. 178
The Quran has little to say on the human soul. 181
The Sikh doctrine has affinities with the Upanishadic conception. 182
Belief concerning the soul as i. eternal; or ii. originated. The ideas of generation, emanation, and creation. 183
The soul as disappearing with the death of the body. 185
The life of the soul after death as a simple continuance of that lived on earth. 186
The after-life as one of gloom. 187
Distinction of the character of the after-life according to a moral judgment of the life on earth. 188
The pre-existence and the transmigration of the soul. 189
The doctrine of transmigration amongst primitive peoples. 189
The Egyptian and the Greek conceptions. 190
The idea of transmigration virtually an axiom of Jainism, Buddhism, and Hinduism. 191
The belief in transmigration only exceptional amongst Jews, Zoroastrians, Christians, and Muslims. A Sufi expression of the belief. 193
The doctrines of ages of the world and of eternal oscillation. 195
The belief in personal immortality and the influences leading to it. 195
The Egyptians and Greeks and the idea of personal immortality. 196
The belief in personal immortality in Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. 197
The idea of resurrection in Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. 200
Heaven and hell, and the question whether all souls are believed by the theistic religions to attain the former. 201

The Development of the Idea of the Soul.

Religion arises in and reveals an inner life in men which transcends his relation to Nature and the community and leads to the recognition of the soul as a specific factor in reality, striving for an ideal life in itself and in relation with what is beyond it. 202

CHAPTER IV

SIN AND SUFFERING: SALVATION AND REDEMPTION

Religion is more than a cure for the evils of sin and suffering: but these are of such import in life that religions must be considered from the point of view of what they offer for them. 205

At the pre-animistic level of Simple Nature-Worship relief is felt in simple psycho-physiological re-actions. 207

With Animism relief is sought in the supplication and the propitiation of spirits. 207

Suffering arises from imperious needs of human nature, for the satisfaction of which man must look beyond himself. 208

Redemption sought in sex and other forms of physiologically induced ecstasy. 209

Redemption through beauty in Nature and in Art. The beautiful image in religion. 210

The significance of the longing for death. 212

The communal effects of wrong doing and forms of expiation. 213

Suffering as due to ritual pollution: methods of purification. 214

The association of suffering with sin, and the nature of sin. 215

Suffering and sin in the religions of Babylonia and Assyria. 218

The Egyptian conceptions. 219

The origin of suffering and sin in Greek mythology, and the attitude of Greek thought and religion towards them. 220

Buddhism is essentially a religion of redemption from suffering: the association of suffering with wrong desire. 223

For Jainism, imperfection is the evil. 228

Hinduism seeks redemption fundamentally from the condition of finite individuality, with the rebirths and evils to which this delusion gives rise. 230

Zoroastrianism sees in evil the effects of the activities of evil spirits and of men in co-operation with them. 236

For the Jew the greatest evil is sin, in its ultimate character implying alienation from God; salvation from sin and redemption from suffering are to be found in repentance and in the effects of God's grace. 240

Christianity follows the main line of Jewish thought, but frees the view of sin from legalism, finds a deeper significance in a cosmic purpose in suffering, and experiences Jesus as the chief channel of divine grace. 245

In the *Quran* suffering and sin are almost entirely connected;

salvation is to be found in divine forgiveness and mercy. 248
Sikhism follows Hinduism in its main conceptions of evil and redemption, but emphasises devotion, divine grace, and association with the saints. 251
The conception of "the dying god" first suggested by occurrences in Nature, especially related with the sun and vegetation. 252
Another set of myths has grown up around the idea of the watery deep or of a great monster within it, as the source of evil, and of its overcoming through a saviour. The paradise myth. 253
For Early Buddhism the Buddha can only teach the way. Mahayana Buddhism tends to emphasise the work of Boddhisattvas as saviours. 254
The work of the Tirthankaras in Jainism is simply to teach the truth : salvation is entirely through the effort of the self. 256
Hinduism in its doctrine of avatars represents the gods as performing redemptive work for mankind. 256
Zoroastrianism includes belief in a coming saviour (or saviours). 257
Mithraism, a contemporary of early Christianity, regarded Mithra as a mediator and redeemer. 258
The significance of the conception of the Messiah in Judaism is open to discussion. Maimonides definitely accepted the idea of a coming personal saviour. 259
Christianity is pre eminently the religion of a saviour and redeemer. The two extreme interpretations of the nature of Jesus as divine incarnation and as saviour. 260
The conception of the Prophet Mahommed as promoting redemption at the time of the final judgment. 263

The Development of the Ideas of Salvation and Redemption from Sin and Suffering.

Suffering the first form of evil recognised by mankind. This experienced as having a source beyond the individual. The idea of wrong-doing and sin grew up in the social environment in relation with the experience of suffering. Further advance has led to the recognition that sin implies a reference transcending the merely social, and the need for the aid of a transcendent Power to overcome it, This has been especially emphasised in theistic faiths. 264
Suffering found not to be fully accounted for through ignorance and sin, but to have also an independent significance in reality, in part serving to bind men in love to one another and to God. 267
Forgiveness is an essential in the attainment of religious ideals.

Christianity maintains that the demonstration of God's forgiveness induces the repentance necessary for communion. 268

CHAPTER V

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

Religious practices first arise from expression of emotions. They are also means to arouse emotions and cultivate certain attitudes. 269

The father of the family and the ruler, the earliest leaders in religious rites, have eventually been superseded by special classes of priests. 270

The simplest forms of expression of feelings aroused by Nature and by the tribal ruler. 271

The contagion of religious ecstasy in social conditions. 273

Dancing as a religious exercise. 273

The place of singing in religious worship. 273

Religious processions. 274

The practice of prayer. 274

Sacrifice, as offering, the essential purposes. 276

Animal sacrifice. 280

Human sacrifice. 281

Sacramental meals, sometimes a communion with the god, are also at times a mystic participation in the god. 284

Rites of purification at first of physical implication tend to assume a symbolic character. 286

The purification ceremonies of Zoroastrianism. 288

Religion, predominantly social, has assumed social forms of worship. 292

The temple worship of Hinduism. The private daily worship. 293

Buddhism, as such, has only simple practices of veneration but it has frequently assumed for popular use ceremonies found in each country concerned. Meditation strongly emphasised. 295

The practices of the Jains. 296

Confucian worship in China. 297

The *Yacna* ceremony of the Zoroastrians and their daily private worship. 298

Jewish worship in the synagogue. 299

The central rite of Christianity the Lord's Supper, Holy Communion, Eucharist, or Mass. The various interpretations. 299

The five pillars of Islam: the *kalima*: prayer; fasting: alms: and

the pilgrimage. 301
The Sikh form of worship. 301
Religious festivals are related with the astronomical, the agricultural, and the historical. 302
The ascription of sanctity to places. 305
Pilgrimages. The pilgrimage to Mecca. 307
The mysteries of birth, marriage, and death and the association of religious ceremonies with them. Initiation and spiritual birth. 308
The sacred thread ceremony of the Hindus. 309
Initiation into the Buddhist *Sangha*. 310
Initiation into a non—idolatrous Jain ascetic order. 312
The Zoroastrian *Naojote* ceremony. 312
Circumcision among primitive peoples and the Jews. 313
Christian Baptism and Confirmation. 314
Circumcision among Muslims. 315
Initiation into the Sikh *Khalsa*. 316
The Brahmin Marriage Ceremony, 317
Buddhism and Jainism have no special marriage rites. 320
Marriage a religious duty in Zoroastrianism. The ceremony. 320
The Jewish marriage service. 322
Christian and Muslim marriage. 323
Rites of Hinduism connected with the disposal of the dead. The *Sraddha* Ceremonies. 323
The Zoroastrian rites connected with the deceased. Exposure of the body at the Tower of Silence. 326
The Jewish burial service. 327
The Christian liturgies related with the burial of the dead place most emphasis on the idea of future resurrection, and of eternal life. 328

The Nature of Religious Practices.

Religious practices at first simple forms of expression become complex with the growth of the priestly class. Reaction leads again to the simple or to entire neglect. The decline of religion with the decay of social expression in specific practices. 330
The occurrences of birth, marriage, and death have a metaphysical and religious significance which should retain recognition in religious rites. 331
The relation of religion and art most intimate in religious practices. 333

CHAPTER VI

THE EMOTIONAL ATTITUDES AND RELIGIOUS IDEALS

Religion a concern of personality as a whole, of the fundamental unities of experience and the elements of difference and conflict. 333
The emotional attitudes of Simple Nature Worship, of Animism, Polytheism, and Theism. 334
The feeling of community, and of repentance and forgiveness. 335
The emotional attitudes related with sex. 336
The effects of suffering and death on emotional attitudes. 337
The emotional attitudes of Buddhism, Jainism, and *advaitist* Hinduism. 339
A Babylonian, a Chinese, and a Peruvian Prayer. 340
A Greek ethical aspiration with a religious flavour. The joyous character of Greek religion, and its limiting gloom. 342
The final appeal of Greek religious idealism in Neo platonism. 344
The moral element of Egyptian religion as associated with the idea of a future life. 345
Confucianism, predominantly ethical, has a religious background. 346
The ideal of Taoism is essentially : " Follow Nature ". 347
Hinduism is a vast complex of emotional attitudes and ideals. Its fundamental principle unity. The joy of *bhakti*. 347
The Buddhistic ideal of *Nirvana* may be interpreted positively or negatively : the former here maintained. 350
Jainism gives an inevitable impression of asceticism; the abstract and negative character of its statements of the ideal. 354
The ideal of Zoroastrianism is an effort for and a comprehensive enjoyment of good both here and hereafter. 355
The religion of the Jews has strong ethical traits associated with its conception of God. Its ideal is social and joyous. Its alleged nationalism. 357
Shinto as national and as Nature and hero-worship. 358
The theological, social, and personal character of the Christian ideal. 359
Islam, the religion of resignation to the will of God. 361
The Sikh religion is a simple faith of love of God. 362
Religion includes the desire for a condition better than normally prevails. Asceticism. 363
The attitudes of the religions towards the life on earth and towards asceticism. Monasticism. 364
The highest religious satisfaction is a mystic immediacy. The

two tendencies in Mysticism, and the prevailing forms in the different religions. 366

The place of the idealisation of and the devotion to great personalities in the religions, especially the founders. 374

The social nature of religion and religious ideals. The missionary efforts of Christianity, Buddhism, and Islam. 376

The Nature and Development of Religion

Religion, a distinctive constituent of human experience, has ultimately in all its variety a consistent character. It seeks for unity of thought, feeling, and will, in relation with the world, society, and a Reality beyond. 376

Religion though related with a dissatisfaction in this life includes welfare in it, with faith that whether given up or taken from man now, the good is not lost to him. 378

APPENDIX A i. Magic; ii. Fetishism; iii. Totemism. 379

„ B Literature. 383

INDEX i. Persons. 387

„ ii. Subjects. 391

ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Jerusalem . . . . . *Frontispiece*
2. A Vaishnav Priest . . . . *To face page* 40
3. The Sikh Golden Temple, Amritsar . . 64
4. The Altar of Heaven, Pekin 90
5. Sex Images as Religious Symbols . . . 100
6. Jain Temple, Mount Abu 116
7. Goddess Worship in South India . . . 132
8. At Benares 164
9. The Parthenon, Athens 196
10. A Buddhist Cave Temple, Ajunta . . . 228
11. The Crucifixion of Jesus 244
12. Sacred Symbols of the Jainas 256
13. Muslims at Prayer, Kashmir 274
14. A Zoroastrian Fire Temple, Bombay . . 288
15. Mecca 306
16. The Great Temple, Tanjore 316
17. A Scene from a Brahmin Marriage Ceremony 324
18. The Madonna 336
19. A Dhyani Buddha, Java 352
20. St. Peter's, Rome 376

Corrigenda

For a number of reasons which need not be enumerated here, this book had to be printed at two small Indian presses. The torture of the press work can only be appreciated by those who have had experience of such printing presses. Printer's errors of a minor order abound in the following pages, but the corrections will be obvious to the reader. A few more important mistakes must, however, be explicitly referred to. It may also be remarked that the printer had no accented types and words usually found with accents are printed here without them.

p. 52 footnote, for *S'mitri* read *S'mriti*.

p. 164 footnote, for "thought of the head as the soul", read "thought of the head as the seat of the soul".

p. 205, for "Greek" read "Roman".

Unless otherwise stated the place of publication of the books referred to is London.

THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF RELIGIONS

INTRODUCTION

SCIENTIFIC THEOLOGY AND THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF RELIGIONS

Every science is made up of propositions which are either simply descriptive or inferential. The former refer directly to immediate experiences ; the latter are arrived at by a process of reasoning from the former. A science is a body of knowledge composed of such propositions, capable of growth by an increase in their number or their comprehension. The process of growth leading to differentiation and greater complexity, in course of time the field of research becomes too large to be adequately investigated by any single individual, and special regions must be marked off for separate treatment. But this division of labour, although it leads to progress with reference to matters of detail, is likely to be detrimental to the understanding of experience unless it is supplemented by a careful consideration of the relation of the various studies to one another. The lack of a general consideration of this kind is one of the most marked features of present theological study. Yet all sciences should be systems more or less complete and consistent, and to achieve this to the greatest possible extent not merely the details but the whole as such must be kept in view. Dependent upon experienced fact and processes of reason their validity and value must be judged by experience and reason, and in this respect no difference is to be found between Theology and any other science.

The Data of Theology

A survey of Theology as a science will start with the question : What are the data of Theology ? To this question no absolute and complete answer can be given. Like all other sciences it depends for its data upon experience, and as that for us is under the form of time, we are never justified in assuming that we may not meet in future with data of a different kind and even of greater importance than any yet known. To appreciate fully the significance of this truth is of particular importance in Theology, because many have contended that absolute and complete knowledge in this sphere is already possible of recognition. The existence of eternally valid truths, some of which may be already known to man, cannot be denied ; but it must be insisted that such truths become known to men at particular points in time. Further, no science is purely formal ; all depend to some extent upon the data of immediate experience. The data of Theology are obtained from religious experience, by which expression is implied what is generally meant by religion.

With regard to the question : What is Religion ? a little reflection soon brings the conviction that small profit would be gained by so early a discussion of this problem, which, in fact, is the problem of the whole study. Far less will there be in our day an endeavour to give a universally valid definition. To show the degree of success of such efforts it will suffice to recall to mind some earlier definitions. Most of these give aspects of the truth. Kant says, " Religion consists in our recognising all our *duties* as divine commandments "; Schleiermacher : " Religion consists in our consciousness of absolute *dependence* on something which, though it determines us, we cannot determine in turn "; Hegel : " Religion is the *knowledge* acquired by the finite spirit of its essence as absolute spirit "; Mill : " The essence of religion is the strong and earnest direction of the *emotions and desires* towards an ideal object, recognised as of the

highest excellence, and as rightfully paramount over all selfish objects of desire." William James represents personal religion as the manner of a man's "*total reaction* upon life," when this reaction is of a high-souled disposition impelled by a power greater than the man himself. For Höffding, the basal fact of religion is *faith in the conservation of value.* Eucken, somewhat in oriental fashion in spite of his activism, conceives of it as mystical experience in which the oppositions of life are transcended. Max Müller, after an elaborate discussion of the question,[1] says "Religion consists in the perception of the infinite under such manifestations as are able to influence the moral character of man".[2] It may be reasonably maintained that, though some contents of the religious experience may be enumerated, religion as such is indefinable.[3]

The definitions of religion mentioned are so abstract that they afford little help in deciding what is to be accepted as a valid element of a particular religion, and what as an alien factor which has become associated with it. In the course of scientific investigation, the nature of religion as something concrete should become increasingly clear; at the outset the more or less vague conceptions of popular thought, aided by these definitions, are our best means of deciding what shall be included and what not. The policy to be adopted will be in favour of inclusion rather than of exclusion of anything which claims to be part of any given religion. Nevertheless, the distinction between religion and magic now generally accepted—that magic implies that what is done is due to the power of the magician, and that religion involves the free activity of the God or goddess—will aid in the separation of magical from religious elements.[4]

1. For a survey and discussion of some wellknown definitions see Max Muller F. *Natural Rcligion* (1889) Lectures III and IV.

2. *Ibid.* (Ed. 1898. p. 188) Lecture VII.

3. Comparison may be made with th insistence of recent ethical writers that "good" is indefinable: see e. g. G. E. Moore: *Principia Ethica.* Cambridge 1903.

4. See Appendix A.

Various attempts have also been made to classify religions, but none can be regarded as really satisfactory. The difficulty lies in the nature of the facts themselves. At times in their history religions change from predominantly one type towards another The beliefs concerning God or gods; the mode of salvation, whether ethical or redemptive; the main psychical character, whether activist or passivist have been proposed as principles of classification. But it does not require much acquaintance with the history of religions to see that at different times and places most religions have been essentially polytheistic and in varying degrees theistic; that most are in fact ethical and redemptive; just as all have activist and passivist phases. The study of religions needs no general classification to begin with; classifications may be proposed for special purposes.5 If the

5. It is instructive to note some of the classifications which have been proposed. Raoul de la Grasserie in *Des Religions comparées au Point de Vue sociologique*. Paris 1889, ch. xii suggests the following: 1. Humanistic or subjective, divinistic or objective; 2. Revealed, non-revealed; 3. Individualistic, domestic, national, international; 4. Independent of morality, with a special religious moral code, with natural morality, dualistic, and religions in which morality moulds the dogma; 5. Concrete, abstract; 6. Anthropomorphic, non-anthropomorphic; 7. Idolatrous, non-idolatrous; 8. Pantheistic, non-pantheistic; 9. Polytheistic, Monotheistic; 10. Egoistic, altruistic; 11. Mythic, non-mythic; 12. Socialistic, non-socialistic; 13. Naturalistic, animistic; 14. Exoteric, esoteric; 15. Learned, popular; 16. Civilised, not-civilised; 17. Political, non-political; 18. Religion for men, for women; 19. Original, derived; 20. Pure, eclectic; 21. Indigenous, imported; 22. With a sacred scripture, without; 23. Sacerdotal, non-sacerdotal. While most of these suggestions indicate particular points of view from which religions should be considered, their defects for purposes of classification are evident. W. D. Whitney: *Oriental and Linguistic Studies*. Second series, 1893. pp 146-7. maintains that the most important distinction is between "ethnic religions grown up by the gradual accumulation of beliefs and practices in a whole community" and "individual religions, products each of the deeper insight and uncompromising independence of some one person who founds upon a new basis of perceived truth a new system". Such distinction

object is to investigate religions historically, a rough provisional classification along the lines of language and race as, *e. g.* Semitic, Aryan, Mongolian, may prove useful. It will, however, be at once evident how difficult it would be to place Christianity or Buddhism in such a classification. Any attempt to make a classification for the systematic study of the elements of religions would involve distinctions between different periods of their history, and probably also different sections of the adherents. A satisfactory classification of religions will be obtained, if at all, only as a result of the comparative study of religions.

Comment may be made in more conservative circles upon the fact that the distinction usually made between Natural and Revealed Religion, a distinction often thought to be fundamental for Theology, is not used here. To the thought of to-day, as contrasted with that of the eighteenth century, this distinction is really little more than a verbal one. All knowledge is in some sense natural and all in some sense revealed. The object known, whether material or spiritual, human or divine, is known only because it stands in an active relationship with the mind that knows. The mind never experiences a purely passive object: it knows only because its activity meets with some resistance. In

---

is rather a matter of relative emphasis than a division of kinds. The contention of Max Muller is well known: "The only scientific and truly genetic classification of religions is the same as the classification of languages." *Introduction to the Science of Religion.* (1871) ed 1899. p, 82. Siebeck H. *Lehrbuch der Religionsphilosophie.* Giessen, 1893. makes one of the most acceptable suggestions yet put forward He divides them into 1. Nature religions; 2. Ethical religions-in various degrees of development; and 3. Redemptive religions. But it is difficult to regard Christianity and Buddhism, the two religions in 3, as not to the same extent ethical as redemptive. Tiele adopts a somewhat similar classification: 1. Nature Religions, with sub-classes indicating stages of development from primitive naturalism through animism, theriomorphic polydaemonism to anthropomorphic polytheism; 2. Ethical Religions, divided into (a) National e. g. Brahmanism, Parsism; and (b) Universal, e, g, Buddhism, Christianity.

thought which is true, man does not think just what he wishes but what he must ; what the nature of reality compels him to think. It is the same with regard to the knowledge of the spiritual as it is of that of the material world. All religious experience, if valid, and not simply transitory subjective feeling, is in the end a relationship between active realities. God revealing Himself to men is God in active relation with men : religious knowledge from the side of man is natural, and from the side of God is revealed. This revelation takes many forms—through the religious feelings which Nature arouses in us, and more especially through the history and the moral and the religious consciousness of humanity. Religion is now admitted as a normal characteristic of human life,[6] and whatever its apparent immediate source, all genuine religion is ultimately a fellowship between the individual in his social condition and the divine ; so that all Theology is in this sense natural.

In the place of the above discussed distinction modern thought insists upon that between the knowledge of God obtained through external nature on the one hand, and that obtained through the moral and spiritual life of man on the other. And, as in earlier time Revealed Religion was thought of as superior to Natural Religion, so now the knowledge of God which comes through human moral and religious experience is held to transcend that derived from the world of nature.

---

6. Discussion as to whether there are any peoples quite devoid of religion, (waged keenly fifty years ago,) has now entirely ceased. For as Dr. J. Lindsay says: *Recent Advances in the Theistic Philosophy of Religion.* Edin. 1897. p. 55 " even if such religionless people had been found as Azara, Crantz, and the instances cited by Lubbock.... would represent, this fact of its abeyance or non-manifestion in such peoples would no more invalidate the truth that man has really a universal destination for religion than does the fact that there are secularist unbelievers at home who reduce religion from its place among the primary instincts and powers of the soul. "

The Aim of Theology

What is the aim of Theology ? In this, as in almost all studies, there is a search for a purely intellectual satisfaction, the value and importance of which should not be underestimated. Nevertheless, a man who studied Theology merely as an intellectual pursuit would arouse in us the feeling of insufficiency and poverty. The essential purpose of Theology is to gain an understanding of the religious life and its implications, and to raise it to higher levels through the purifying influence of critical reflection. The most fruitful study of the subject starts out with the hope of making men more conscious of what religion means : it is not a a mere intellectual curiosity, but a broadening of the outlook on life and a deepening of the feelings. The objection is sometimes raised, that if a man has the interests of religion at heart he will be prejudiced in his judgments as to the truth of religious doctrines. To such an objection many replies may be made. An opponent of religion would be just as liable to be prejudiced in his judgments. And whatever an individual may think to the contrary, it is extremely difficult, if not entirely impossible, to be completely indifferent to the religious attitude. In his actual way of life, if not in his expressed conviction, every man is sympathetic or antagonistic to it: in religion it is true that " he who is not with us is against us." To require that the man who studies Theology shall be conscious of its practical significance and shall be sympathetic towards the attitude with which his study is concerned is quite rational and justifiable. It would hardly be too much to say that only the man who has religious experience of his own can really understand the subject-matter and the aim of Theology. To ask a blind man for an adequate treatment of colours would be ludicrous. But all this is no reason for the student of Theology not to strive with all his power and with utmost sincerity to find the truth. The search for truth and its admission when found are, in fact, of the deepest essence of religion.

The Scope and Methods of Theology

Attention may now be turned to the consideration of the scope and methods of theological study. The first task is the description of the nature and the contents of the religious experience. This investigation is analytic, genetic, and comparative. It refers to the individual and the social aspects of religious life. The analytic study may be appropriately called *The Psychology of Religion.* A survey of the religious life of the past, a simple indication from the standpoint of the theory of evolution of the stages through which individuals and societies have come to their religious beliefs and attitudes towards life, is the subject of *The History of Religions.* Allied with these two branches of research is that of *The Comparative Study of Religions*, the purpose of which is to differentiate the aspects of similarity and of difference in the various historical religions. All these sections of Theology are purely empirical and descriptive: their task is simply to state what they find; it is not for them to enter upon critical comment as to the worth of the ideas and practices they describe. Hypotheses and theories as to the relationships between religious rites and beliefs, of different religions to one another and to experience in general, may indeed find a place here, but no question is raised as to the truth of the doctrines or the validity of the value-judgments contained in the religious consciousness. To this division of Theology might therefore be applied the term *The Empirical Study of Religion.*

The data thus obtained and systematized must eventually be submitted to critical examination, with the object of determining the truth and the value of the contents of the religious experience. Such critical examination is not an end in itself, but preparatory to constructive effort. Starting from the descriptive and inferential propositions which are judged valid among those obtained in the Empirical

Study of Religion, the constructive theologian must endeavour to formulate a consistent and comprehensive ideal of the religious life and of its implications. To this critical and synthetical study is given the name of *The Philosophy of Religion*. As such a realm of thought cannot be kept separate from our view of the world in general, the Philosophy of Religion must always bear a close relationship to Philosophy in its widest sense.

Some form of corporate activity and public worship is an inseparable element of religions as found in history, and for the administration and organization of these forms of social expression there have usually been definite religious ministries. The work of ministering to religious needs and endeavouring to raise men to higher stages of religious life constitutes a more or less distinct subject of study under the name of *Pastoral Theology*.[7] Concerned with the psychological consideration of religious needs and their most appropriate and justifiable satisfaction, and with the forms most suitable for the expression and cultivation of the religious attitude and experience, Pastoral Theology partakes of the nature of an applied science. In so far as it aims at the realization of the highest conception of religion expressed in the Philosophy of Religion, it forms a link between the Empirical Study and the Philosophy of Religion, between the religious life as it now is and what one strives to make it. The experiences of pastors in their ministerial functions should enable them to make contributions to the Psychology of Religion.

---

7. For a discussion of this extremely important branch of Theology see C. F. Rogers : *An Introduction to the Study of Pastoral Theology*, Oxford, 1914. In Christianity alone is there any marked development of the "pastoral" and of literature on its various aspects. The absence of a pastoral activity of the priest, as distinguished from his part in the performance of rites and ceremonies, is a serious defect in most Eastern religions.

The scope of Theology may therefore be outlined as follows:

THEOLOGY

I. The Empirical Study of Religion
- *a.* The Psychology of Religion (Analytic).
- *b.* The History of Religions (Genetic).
- *c.* The Comparative Study of Religions.

II. The Philosophy of Religion
- *a.* Critical (Examination of Empirical Data).
- *b.* Constructive (Formulation of Ideal System).

III. Pastoral Theology.

The Psychology of Religion is occupied with an intensive study of the psychical changes and states in the individual consciousness on its religious side, always paying adequate attention to social influences. It "tries to understand," says Höffding, "psychologically the phenomena of the religious life," [8] for "it is within the religious sphere that men have made their deepest and most intense psychical experiences."[9] The nature of the different mental states of religious experience, and the relations between them, will be investigated in their normal and abnormal forms. The distinctive types of mentality of the religious as contrasted with the non-religious; the types produced by life as a recluse, or in a monastery or convent; the characteristic traits of masculine and feminine religiosity; the phenomena of repentance, conversion, mystical ecstasy, all these are examples of the subjects of investigation in this science, besides the more obvious ones of the relations between religious beliefs, feelings, and practices. Every wide study

8, 9. *Philosophy of Religion.* Eng. trs. London, 1906, p. 96; 95.

will have to take into account the fact that religion, especially in its earliest and in its highest stages, is also essentially a social function. The emotions of the individuals are intensified or modified by contact with a group of individuals in a society, according as the others do or do not feel the same emotion. Beliefs common to a majority in a society persist much longer and are far more difficult to change than those of mere individuals. Yet the fact must never be overlooked that the religious experience, as actually felt, is always the experience of an individual mind. Though the social relations are of the utmost importance, it is not justifiable to introduce terms like that of "social subject," which suggest highly controversial metaphysical doctrines, from which the science should be kept free. Mr. Marett, who uses this conception in his *Threshold of Religion*, finally comes to admit that initiative is individual, and that transmission is ultimately from individual mind to individual mind. At every stage the Psychology of Religion is concerned with religious experience as it might be to an individual mind. 10

10. Though serious investigation into the Psychology of Religion has only recently begun distinct advances have been made. *The Psychology of Religion* by Starbuck, 1899, was a beginning of systematic study, but it is limited in scope, treating almost solely of members of Protestant sects, or persons obviously influenced by such. Dr. F. Granger's *Soul of a Christian*, 1900, is a good analysis of the type of religious experience in St. Augustine and John Bunyan. But it is open to objection to represent this as typical of the Christian experience generally. William James' *Varieties of Religious Experience*, 1902, opens up a distinctly wider field, though too many of his examples are abnormal. H. Hoffding (*op. cit.*) draws material from various non-Christian religions, but with the special purpose of establishing his view of religion. A. Sabatier bases his *Philosophy of Religion* (Eng. trs. A. Seed. 1907,) on the psychology and history of religion. G. M. Stratton's *The Psychology of the Religious Life*, 1911. may be considered a definite attempt systematically to survey the material drawn from religions generally. See further, Appendix B.

The History of Religions investigates the changes in the elements and forms of religions viewed socially rather than individually. Here the institutional side of religion will assume more prominence, this, however, only with due and adequate recognition of the part played by outstanding personalities. The origin and determination of sacred scriptures and the doctrines they contain; the evolution of rites and ceremonies; the achievements of the great religious prophets, teachers and saints, will be studied.

In the study of the History of Religions care must be taken in the use of the conception of Evolution. The exact relation of this conception, especially in its more biological form, to history has not yet been adequately considered, and the fundamental problem of the nature and origin of variations is raised immediately the changes in history are discussed. The distinction between history and evolution as ordinarily conceived, is of great importance in reference to the reformers or founders of religions. Though the individual reformer or founder shares the common mental furniture of his contemporaries, it is just the intensity of his personal life, and that in which he rises above them, which is of most significance. In impressing his personality on the raw material, in making his power the central force of the new movement, he gives it its unique character. His individuality, his intensity of personal power, may be quite inexplicable by reference to antecedents. Thus, though the idea of a general development, by a gradual process of evolution, especially with regard to the religious life of the masses, may be applied in the study of the history of religions, that study cannot be entirely controlled by it. [11]

11. This contention appears to be of especial importance in relation to the fundamental principles underlying some of the more mystical aspects of Eastern religions, such as Buddhism, Jainism, and many forms of Hinduism, for which the attainment of religious knowledge and redemption is regarded as independent of considerations of time.

The Comparative Study of Religions

Only within recent years have serious attempts been made to inaugurate a scientific *Comparative Study of Religions*. [12] It is not surprising that there is considerable doubt as to what is to be included in the study and what are its appropriate methods. Orderly advance cannot, however, be expected until aims, scope, and methods, are at least provisionally settled. One writes " provisionally " advisedly, since no study ought to be arbitrarily limited by a rigid view of its scope and methods : though it is guided by a clear view of them, they are the servants not the master. In all research, and at no time more than in the earliest

12. Interest in the study of the religions of different peoples goes back to very early times, and has existed amongst most civilised peoples at one time or another. The references in Herodotus show this for the ancient Greeks. The Egyptian king Amenhotis IV may have had such interests. Masudi relates that a parliament of religions was held at Baghdad, in the 3rd Century A. H. under the Khalifa Mamun. The Emperor Akbar summoned to his court representatives of most of the leading religious faiths. A parliament of religions was held in Chicago in 1893 and a conference in Calcutta in 1909. Christian missionaries in non-Christian lands have produced much literature on religions but with their special purpose always in view. Such general interest in the comparison of religions is nevertheless far from the establishment of a systematic science. In earlier times the study of the empirical facts of religion was generally called *The Science of Religion*. For our purpose that is too wide a term, but it is preferable to that of *Comparative Religion* which seems to imply to many minds (especially in India) a kind of hotch-potch, almost an eclectic religion. Its grammatical inaccuracy is not sufficiently compensated for by its brevity. As for the beginnings of a definite Science it may be said that although probably no scholar of repute would now follow the philological bias of Max Muller, few would refuse to recognise him as one of the greatest pioneers in the systematic study of religions. More than his other works, his organisation of the Series of translations of the Sacred Books of the East aroused wide interest and much co-operation, making a more systematic comparative study eventually possible. See further Appendix B.

stages of a science, it is fundamental to understand the problems. The first task is to bring into relief the problems and the methods of the Comparative Study of Religions. So far, there has been a number of valuable but scattered contributions concerning individual subjects, and one or two attempts to embark upon a systematic foundation and construction of the science. A careful and wide survey of the problems, with due appreciation of their difficulty, forces one to the conclusion that this study ought not to be, as it usually is, simply a side-activity of anthropologists, philologists, the historians of specific religions, or missionaries. It demands the main activities of those engaged upon it. For, not only is the range of material vast, but also, for a just and adequate comparison of living religions it is almost if not quite essential to live amongst those who believe them.

The Comparative Study of Religions can only be properly pursued by those who have done considerable reading in the two previously described empirical studies. But those studies are possible within the scope of one religion, and do not necessarily imply consideration of other religions. No space is available, and there should be no need today, to urge the importance of comparative studies. Further, the point of view of such studies has changed since de la Saussaye wrote : " The science of religion and the science of the Christian religion must follow separate paths and have separate objects in view." [13] The aim of the study of any one religion, or of all religions, is ultimately the same—the acquisition of religious truth : the only difference is, that one is a partial survey of the data available, while the other is an endeavour to survey the whole.

The scope of the science is as wide as religion itself: all that is known of the religions of the past or of the present may rightly claim a place within it. Though its task is other than that of the History of Religions, advance in this

13. *Manual of the Science of Religion.* Eng. trs, London, 1891, p. 10.

latter is essential to the former. Advance in the Comparative Study of Religions will aid the History of Religions at least in the understanding of particular relationships and associations, both between different religions and elements of the same religion. The main characteristic of method is sufficiently indicated in the name of the science. Its main problems may be briefly expressed thus : How does one religion as a whole, that is, as a type of life and belief, compare with others viewed as wholes ? What similarities and differences are evident in the elements of the different religions ? How far are the forms of historical evolution similar or diverse ?

Of the three ways in which religions are to be compared, the most difficult, but undoubtedly the most important for practical religious life, is their comparison as wholes, as types of religious life. A concise but full account of one religion, giving a general impression, may be considered along with a concise and full account of the others. Such a method enables one to see the predominant characteristics of the particular religions, and is conducive to a proper perspective of the different parts. Here one type of life is placed over against another, somewhat as they are related in actuality. Attention is centred on the "toute ensemble," the " synoptic aspect " as Dr. Merz 14 has termed such views of " wholes. " It may be possible to show parallels in other religions to almost all that is valuable in any particular religion, yet viewed as wholes the religions may appear very different. " The unique character of a religion is to be judged, not by the raw material it possesses in common with others, but by the special stamp it impresses upon it." 15 In following this method predominant aspects of different religions will be thrown into relief. M. Anesaki 16

14. " *History of European Thought in the 19th Century* " Vol. III and IV., Edin. *Proceedings of the Durham Philosophical Society 1913.* cf, Dr. Sorley : *Limits of Analysis.* Indian Phil. Rev. 1918. pp. 287-296.

15. Marti : *Religion of the Old Testament*, London, 1907, p. 29.

16. *Hibbert Journal.* IV. 1905.

has broadly contrasted the more intellectual character of Buddhism with the more emotional nature of Christianity. The fundamental social principle of Christianity, based on the solidarity of men and God, its central conception of the "kingdom of God," and its organisation of living churches, may be placed over against most forms of Hinduism, in which the doctrines of karma, of transmigration and caste, tend towards a predominant individualism, either in individual persons or in caste groups. While Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Islam, and Christianity incline more to active conflict, Hinduism inclines more to passive submission, and to set a high value on contemplation. A useful general distinction is whether a religion has centred more especially around the devotion to a person, or in the efficacy of religious practices; or whether the most prominent factor has been belief in saving doctrines and their application in conduct. It can hardly be denied that these three aspects are nearly always found, but the question is whether one predominates in any particular religion, and, if so, which. Christianity makes devotion to a Person central; Buddhism, the knowledge of the four sacred truths and the following of the path which leads to Nirvana; [17] and in at least an equal degree Islam is pre-eminently a religion of prayer. These are the merest indications of a method which can be properly worked out only with an intimate knowledge of details and of history. For its successful application an appreciation of the relative importance of the constituent elements is required as well as a "sympathetic rapport" with the spirit of the religions compared.

Religions should also be examined with respect to their relative historical development. Some consider this the

17. The name of the Buddha does not occur in the formula of the four sacred truths. For a consideration of this aspect of Buddhism see Oldenberg, *Buddha*, Eng. trs., 1904 p. 372. The Buddha is nevertheless one of the three jewels of Buddhism: the Buddha, the Doctrine, the Order.

most valuable method for theoretical study. What was the course of changes in the past, and what, in a living religion, are the present tendencies? Are there any common sequences in the evolution of beliefs and practices or in the relative predominance of the different feelings at different times? All the world over men have essentially the same type of physical development, and mental and social evolution suggest certain uniformities. It is, therefore, legitimate to ask whether there is a more or less regular form of religious evolution, and if so, what are the "laws" or uniformities of this evolution, and to what they lead, as far as can be at present known. Enquiry will be made to see how far progressive movements of the different religions tend to converge or to diverge. In such investigations no narrow and isolated treatment of religion is justifiable. Religion, in its historical development, is so bound up with general culture and activity, that one may rightly ask what type of general character a people has manifested or attained in the profession of a particular faith. If on the one hand, racial characteristics affect the type of religion of a people, on the other hand religious and moral ideas lie deep down as the source of inspiration and consolation in national life.

Questions of the origin of religion, or as to the nature of the earliest religion, belong to the History rather than to the Comparative Study of Religions. The attempt, by a comparison of early religions to come to a conception of the original religion of humanity is not likely to be very fruitful, nor at present very helpful. Efforts to arrive at some knowledge of the early religion of certain "families," or groups of peoples, are likely to be more successful and of considerable value.[18] Even such sectional surveys will represent religion at a comparatively high stage of development, and will still be largely conjectural. It is worth saying

18. *e. g.* W. Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites.* and O. Schrader's treatment of *Aryan Religion* in Hasting's *E. R. E.*

here, that though the question of origins is, and may always be, of interest to science, the question whether religions were alike, or were associated in their origin, is of less consequence than whether they show signs of converging to a common, or at least a harmonious, goal.

An interesting and important aspect of this historical comparison of religions concerns the nature of the influence exerted by the powers which have had the greatest share in their external growth,[19] whether, for example, the highest officers of the civil organisation as in ancient Rome; the ecclesiastical hierarchy and priesthood as in Hinduism and Christianity; or the laity as in some forms of Protestant Christianity and in Islam. The question should also be raised as to how far religions have tended to form inner and outer circles of adherents, esoteric and exoteric forms of doctrine and practice. The comparison of religions historically has not infrequently led to the view that degeneration from the position of a great reformer or teacher is more conspicuous than progress above it. The present science is not called on to pronounce judgments concerning progress or degeneration, it has simply to supply the data for such judgments to be made. It ought, however, to be noticed that the question here involved relates to the character of the religion of the people, *as a whole after* the life-work of the teacher, as compared with the religion of the people *as a whole previous* to it. The majority may not have attained the level of the religious genius ; all may have failed : nevertheless, there is progress if, through his work, they have advanced beyond the previous level.

The third and the simplest method is the comparison of the separate elements of the religions : the practices, the

19. That is, as a more or less continuous factor. The influences of such powerful sovereigns as Asoka and Kanishka in the expansion of Buddhism, of Constantine in that of Christianity, and of the Sassanides in the renewed vigour of Zoroastrianism are of importance for the history of religions but not for understanding their essential nature.

beliefs, the feelings : founder with founder, reformer with reformer, prophet with prophet, saint with saint, devotee with devotee. This method is also indispensable as a preliminary for a really satisfactory comparison of the first kind—*i. e.* of religions as wholes, which tends to be superficial unless it is on a basis of the comparison of details. In this investigation one is forced, as in all sciences, to resort to artificial classification, determined by the end in view. This end is to compare the different elements in the different religions, but to do this in such a way that the religions as wholes shall not be left out of account. Much valuable material for such a method has already been accumulated in the volumes of the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, in which leading specialists discuss the same subject from the standpoint of different religions. That material needs to be worked over for the special purpose of our science. It is, of course, possible to make a very wide survey of one particular type of element, but in any scheme proposed for a general view of the study all sides must be provided for. Studies of particular beliefs and practices are not uncommon, but at present they mostly refer to primitive times or peoples, as e. g. Fraser's Gifford Lectures on "*Immortality*", and Durkheim's "*Les Formes élémentaires de la Vie religieuses.*"

The chief need in this, as in all branches of Theology, is more order and system in the investigations, more uniformity in the form of statement of results. A knowledge of the fundamental facts of the religions would be more easily obtained and their comparative study would be very much simplified if the monographs and accounts of individual religions were written on a common plan. All science involves a degree of abstraction and artificial classification; only thus can the immense amount of material be coped with. Abstraction and classification are only disadvantageous when the actual relations of facts are forgotten. For various reasons it will be best to consider independently the three

interrelated aspects of religions: practices, beliefs, and the emotional or feeling attitudes associated with them. Previous studies have in the main been free from intellectualism, since practices have received almost as much attention as beliefs. But, notwithstanding the general agreement that emotions and feelings play a large part in the religions their systematic detailed study has been neglected.

The classification which is to be followed in this book is intended to be typical of one which might be used in the treatment of individual religions. The order of the sections of this classification is not meant to suggest relative importance in actual religion: it is chosen for its convenience in the study of religions.

i. The Sources and Nature of Religious Truth.

ii. Supernatural Beings, Good and Bad.

iii. The Soul: its Nature, Origin, and Destiny.

iv. Sin and Suffering; Salvation and Redemption.

v. Religious Practices.

vi. The Emotional Attitudes and Religious Ideals.

If accounts of individual religions were developed by specialists as far as possible on this plan, it would be simple to compare chapter with chapter and whole with whole. Additional sections could be added if required. Further, it should be remarked, that no such classification need be slavishly adhered to in the sense of the books on Formal Logic. Thus, while sections v. and vi. are for more systematic accounts, some references to practices and feelings will most probably also be made in the other chapters. Repetition can be avoided by omitting from v. and vi. what has been adequately treated previously. Very great gain would acrue if scholars generally would agree to follow this or some other uniform scheme.

There must be no arbitrary limitation of the material used in these investigations.[20] The legends which have gathered around the lives of the great founders, teachers, and saints of the religions, especially those which have become very widely believed, and have made a deep impression upon believers, form an important part of the data. When taken together with other material, such legends, though not true to fact, may give much indirect insight into the way the teachers were regarded by early disciples. The stories of the miracles of Jesus, even if not true to fact, depict the sort of activity which men conceived of Him.[21] Almost without exception they reveal a motive of kindness and love, and a participation in human joys and sorrows. Surely, it is one of the most important facts to notice in the study of Christianity, that the stories of miracles, and the legends which have been officially recognised and widely accepted, show little that is monstrous or ludicrous. The jatakas or stories of the Buddha's previous lives are full of incidents indicating the moral outlook of early Buddhism.

---

20. The comparative study of folklore and mythology is an indispensable aid for investigations into the motives underlying early religions. Mention may be made here of Max Muller's *Essay on Comparative Mythology* 1856. Dr. Rendel Harris, in his *Boanerges.* Cambridge 1913 (sequel to *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins.* Cambridge 1906) even goes so far as to say " folklore, which we have assumed to be a branch of theology ". (viii). An indication of the value of folklore is given in the statement of Mr. J. C. Lawson: *Modern Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion.* Cambridge 1910 p.7 " Literature as well as art needs an interpreter. It is precisely in this task of interpretation that the assistance offered by the folklore of modern Greece should be sought ". In this direction the main aim of one occupied with the Comparative Study of Religions should be not simply to find similarities and parallels but to seek the underlying ideas and feelings which have led to similar invention or common adoption. See further Appendix B.

21. Dr. Cosmo Lang's *Miracles of Jesus.* which treats the miracles as parables, is an excellent practical example of what is here contended.

The comparative study of religions reveals much which to the scientific student of to-day appears superstitious. "Superstition," says Fraser,[22] "is the creed of the laggards in the march of intellect," and, it may be added, in the evolution of the moral and religious consciousness also. But Fraser himself has shown in the same book that superstition has sometimes served a useful purpose. It is incumbent therefore upon the student to examine all superstitions which he meets with in the study of religions, to see if there are any elements of value associated with the error. Further, the Comparative Study of Religions has already shown quite clearly, and once for all, that religion and superstition are not synonymous, as opponents of religion have frequently maintained. The evidence of history and of our own times seems rather to indicate that with the decline of religion there has been an increase in superstition. That was so in ancient Greece and Rome in the times of the decline of religion, and it is so in parts of the world to-day, as in the growth of occult Theosophy in India with the decline in traditional Hinduism.[23]

The devotees of the different religions may be led by the Comparative Study of Religions to pay attention to aspects of life which they may have previously neglected, and to recognise truths which previously they have entirely or in part failed to appreciate. This broadening effect on the minds of its students is one of the very best results of the study. Christianity, for example, has not seriously considered the question of the nature of the psychical life of animals, their place in the universe, and the attitude which man should adopt towards them. Some of the religions of the East raise and treat this problem in a manner which at once suggests a continuity in psychical existences, and

22. *Psyche's Task*. 2nd ed. 1913. p. 168.

23. For a detailed survey of Theosophy with its occultism, see Dr. J. N. Farquhar : *Modern Religious Movements in India*. New York, 1915, pp. 208–91.

challenges a Christian treatment of the problem. In the usual Christian attitude too abrupt a break is assumed between the positions and the worth of the human and the infra-human. Another problem which Christianity has only treated in a cursory manner is that of the varying fortunes into which men are born, and the limitations to which these " accidents " of birth lead intellectually, morally, and spiritually. Muslims may be led to see in the conception of a saviour and of mediators a deeper meaning and reality than they have yet grasped. The Jew might be led beyond the nationalistic characteristics of his faith, and might also find immense value in devotion to a central religious personality as the highest human expression of the divine. The Buddhist might find reasons for acknowledging more value in empirical experiences as also in a relation to a metaphysical Power. The Hindu might learn to appreciate in its moral implications the fact of social and universal solidarity insisted on so definitely in the predominant Indian philosophical theories.

Modern writers have insisted again and again that the language of religion is poetic and symbolic, that legends, and even doctrinal beliefs, are not the expressions of the balanced judgments of intellect, but imaginative emotional complexes. Undoubtedly there are good reasons for the view, which, while a means for later ages to justify earlier expressions of religious faith, at the same time enables them to seek the kernel and discard the husk. If, however, it is meant to imply that the explicit attitude of less cultured devotees has been to regard these beliefs as symbolic, the view appears in the main mistaken. One thing, at least, the psychology of religion has even so far taught us, and its recognition is necessary for all further study—that the " objects " of a religion are intensely real to its adherents, that faith in the actual truth of its doctrines and in the efficacy of its practices is fundamental. Unless this fact is duly appreciated the whole spirit of religion must be misunderstood.

The distinction of what is looked upon as real and what as merely symbolic also arises with reference to objects of art used in religion. Throughout much of their earlier development at least, religion and art influenced one another immensely: religious ideals and feelings supplied the motive to the artist, and the work of art inspired the onlooker with similar emotions. But while in lower stages the image, for example is treated as though a real physical home of the god, in the higher stages it is regarded simply as a symbolical expression of the idea represented by the god. In as far as the objects of religious adoration make their appeal to the masses of the people the study of these objects is sometimes more helpful for a comparative study of the actual religious feelings of the masses than a perusal of the sacred scriptures, which, except in very recent years, could be used only by a small proportion of the adherents of any religion. In the comparative study of religion in art the fact that some religions or sects oppose particular forms of art indicates a peculiarity of character, and by reaction accounts for some of their traits. Jews and Muslims are forbidden to represent the sacred in human or other "earthly" form, although their sacred books poetically refer to the " eyes " and " hands " of God. In contrast with this the ancient Greeks, Hindus, and Buddhists, have utilised art in this form to a very great extent as an expression and an adjunct to religious worship. For our purpose the subject of comparative iconography must be approached from the standpoint of the psychology of the underlying religious motives in the production and worship of the images. The light which such investigation might throw on the religious needs of the masses should be great. For example, there must be some important ground, not merely historical but also psychological, why the Buddhism which ultimately triumphed in China and Japan includes images of " gods " practically if not entirely identical with the Hindu Brahmanical deities. Buddhism affords an

excellent illustration of the different impression which might be obtained on the one hand from the canonical scriptures, and on the other from its art and practice, and how vital it is for an adequate study of the religion that one be made to supplement the other. Nearly all that is here said with reference to religious sculptures applies equally to paintings. Again it may be, as Fergusson suggests, that Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim, and Christian religious architecture are historically related and show marked resemblances in the main features. Nevertheless, close comparison reveals differences in such architectural developments among diverse peoples, suggestive of the divergences between the outlooks of the different religions.[24]

A further aid to the understanding of religious ideas and sentiments and of their relative importance in the popular mind, and frequently also of historical relationship between religions, exists in the study of the symbols and ritualistic signs. The lotus and the cross have become filled with meaning for Hindus (and Buddhists) and Christians respectively. Investigations into the detail of symbolics reveal that here more intimately than elsewhere magic has become bound up with religious practice.[25]

Music, vocal and instrumental, is not only one of the most impressive forms of expression of the feelings and sentiments of the singer, but also a leading means of arousing like emotions and resolves in the mind and heart of the hearer. More perhaps than any other source the comparative study of religious music should give us an appreciation of the intimate and dominant feeling tones and attitudes of the religions. The comparison will concern itself not merely with the differences in kind, but also with the relative amount of use which is made of music. Singing and dancing are common elements in primitive religions to arouse feelings of ecstasy, as for example in the Shamanism of Korea. Music has been widely used in religious revivals,

24. 25. For literature see Appendix B.

14648

as e. g. by Tukaram, Kabir, Chaitanya, and almost always by Protestant revivalists. Even a highly cultured Amida Buddhist monk in Japan used this aid.[26] Guru Nanak and the earlier Sikh gurus owed much to it. The religious worship of the orthodox Muslim is practically devoid of music, except such as the chanting or intonation of the Quran. It is instructive to notice that singing amongst Hindus is found chiefly with the Vaishnavites, attached to *Bhakti*, the passionate adoration of a personal God. A great similarity of impression is made by some of the Indian melodies and some of the mediaeval Christian chants. Yet between these both and modern Christian hymns there is a vast difference. All these similarities and differences, which deserve to be carefully studied, are related eventually to similarities and differences of ethnic and religious character.

Research in the Comparative Study of Religions may take one of two main forms, a wider or a narrower. The narrower consists of the comparative examination of two or three religions only or of particular periods of the history of two or more religions. Dr. Farnell's *Greece and Babylon* and C. H. Becker's *Christianity and Islam* are examples of this type. The wider study gathers its material from all sources: with certain limitations this has been the more common up to the present time. But the research has been concerned with what is roughly described as "Primitive Religion;" as in the works of Jevons, Fraser and Marett. The final aim of the specialist in the Comparative Study of Religions is of the wider type. The range must, however, be extended: the most advanced modern religious attitudes especially should be included. The wider study will be aided immensely by the narrower comparative studies which specialists in specific languages or in the history of particular religions may make.

26. Kuya-shonin, otherwise known as "Ichi Hijivi" or sage in the street, in the Kamakura period, A. D. 1192–1333, used to dance in the street in ecstasy and employed the dancing "neu-tutsu" (lit. recitation of the name of the Buddha) as a means of evangelism.

The science is empirical. Its first aim, its chief aim, is to survey the facts of the similarities and the differences of religions. It should not, however, be a mere collection of parallels and divergences, but also a systematisation of them. In comparing religion with religion, historically or otherwise, effort should be made to discover principles of connection between the different elements. As in the Natural Sciences, hypotheses should be formed uniting many facts under general ideas indicating their relationship. Certain religions, for example, emphasise personality throughout: God is personal; immortality is personal; the highest life is one of personal affection and love; the historical with its insistence on the importance of individual and social activity, especially moral endeavour, is recognised. A conception of an impersonal Absolute is found most commonly associated with belief in some form of absorption and loss of individuality; with a greater emphasis on the mystical and on intellectual contemplation rather than on moral effort; and so also with asceticism and a neglect of the social and the historical. The concomitant feelings also differ, at least relatively: the former encourages a personal affection, responsibility, penitence, and joy; the latter the feelings of submission, dependence and mystical ecstasy.

Certain fundamental principles of method, obvious though they are, are all too often violated by students of religions. In comparing living religions the educated view of one ought not to be contrasted with a popular view of the others, but educated conceptions and practices with educated conceptions and practices. A modern view of one religion should be compared with a modern view of another. It must not be forgotten that owing to the lack of a general educational system the masses of people in some countries are at a much lower level of culture than in others. But at least since Feuerbach it is impossible to ignore the fact that the form of religious beliefs and practices depends largely upon the general level of culture. The religions of the

masses in India and in different parts of Russia suggest comparison with the popular religious life of Europe in the Middle Ages rather than with the modern Christianity of the West. On the other hand in nearly all countries, in Egypt, India, Persia, China, and Japan, there are some minds who represent a general level of modern civilisation, and the question may be asked: In what way do these men of high culture in different lands agree or differ with respect to religion? A comparison of such modern views is an important part of the science. Religious attitudes of our own time ought to occupy our attention and as earnest a consideration as those of the past. The most important question for today in the study of religions is this: How are sincerely religious men of different faiths thinking of their religions? What are the new forms in which they are trying to express the fundamental facts of their existence? A study of the modern religious attitudes of the educated in different faiths might be made in various ways, as for example, a close examination of religious literature as distinct from theological, of religious periodicals and modern movements, and carefully drawn up questionnaires distributed over particular educated classes and wide areas. Starbuck's use of the questionnaire was extremely limited in its scope, even when considered from the point of view of Christianity. Nevertheless, it was a beginning of a method which has not been used as much as it might have been.

The Comparative Study of Religions as a science does not start out from the standpoint of an *a priori* presumption in favour of one religion. For it each religion is a fact or a group of facts to be examined. Though the adherents of a particular faith claim that it is quite unique, having an authority different from every other religion, the attitude of science towards it cannot in consequence of this be altered. The careful thinker will regard the *claim* to superiority made by a particular community simply as one of the facts of that particular community. The claim is a

common one. The same must be said concerning sacred writings which are represented as a direct revelation from God, and therefore as authoritative and final: as, for example, the claims made for the Bible, the Koran, and the Vedas. The Comparative Study of Religions will note in each case when such claims are made and the forms they take; no arbitrary limitation of the enquiry can be made in consequence of the claims, any more than on the authority of a body of priests, or of an individual dignitary.

The task of the Comparative Study of Religions is neither destructive criticism nor apologetic defence of religions in general or of any religion in particular. Yet it is extremely improbable that a sympathetic consideration of the various religions will not in some way affect the students' or the mere reader's general attitude towards religion. The practical importance of a correct understanding of the modern tendencies in religions it is impossible to overestimate. Differences of religions not properly understood divide peoples and individuals. What is at present required for the evolution of religion and for its study, is not that men shall abandon their specific religions for another, but shall endeavour to find by thoroughgoing methods the best that their own religions can be. Different religions may have contributions of a special kind to make to the religious wealth of humanity. A religion ought not to be discarded until all the good it contains is secured. To consider religions as they are, to examine them by a scientific method, and thus to get the material for a valid judgment of their worth, is to make a big step towards mutual understanding, and to set the seeds of what may lead to a worldwide recognition of a fundamental conception of what the highest religion should be and include, and lead further to co-operation towards the attainment of common ideals.

27. It has been singularly unfortunate for all branches of Theology, but especially for the comparison of religions, that those engaged in the study, have been so frequently officially interested in a particular religion.

In the Comparative Study of Religions it is fundamental to resist a tendency to form a conception of religion simply by throwing into relief the common denominator of religions. From the outset it must be insisted that the elements of contrast are often at least as important as those of similarity. They are in some instances more important in that they are the aspects in which one religion is superior to another. In the past the partisans of a religion have emphasised the differences, and scholars, trying to be impartial and scientific, have put attention almost solely upon the resemblances. If this requirement is remembered in its fullest implication, it will not be possible to contend, as did Mr. E. Clodd,[28] that every advance in the Comparative Study of Religions leads to the conclusion that the component parts are the same and the variety due to the distribution of the parts.

Again, the problem of the origin of similarities and of differences is only incidentally one for this science: it is more especially a question for the History of Religions and the Psychology of Religion. For, in the investigation of the evolution of religions generally, it will become increasingly possible to classify religions in families, and also to decide when similarities are due to original contact or later transmission. The psychological study of religion should help to show what elements are due to common qualities of the human mind. Caution is also necessary against a wrong use, for apologetical purposes, of the results of the Comparative Study of Religions. A belief or a practice is not necessarily justified because it is almost or entirely universal, on the plea that it reveals a common need.[29] Nevertheless, it may with some force be argued that adequate grounds for such generality must exist, and in the absence of any strong opposing reasons of a different kind, the virtual universality of a belief or practice will be strongly in its favour.

28. *Quarterly Review* (*July* 1907). 29. See Figgis. J. N. *The Gospel and Human Needs.* 1907 and my *Human Needs and the Justification of Religious Beliefs.* 1918.

Is the Comparative Study of Religions concerned with the consideration of the relative values of different beliefs, practices, and emotional attitudes or of religions as wholes? Does it include a comparison of *values* ? At the present juncture a diversity of opinion on this matter must certainly be admitted : it would be pure dogmatism to assert that the negative is the only possible answer. Nevertheless, strong reasons may be given in favour of the negative view. The problems and the tasks of the science are very great without this. The best work that has been done so far has undoubtedly been almost entirely free from such comparisons, so that we are only consciously advocating the line most often taken previously. The chief reason is that to make a comparison of values some standard is required. How is this to be obtained ? To adopt any particular religion as the standard would be in the highest degree arbitrary. On the other hand, to investigate this standard must be regarded as one of the main problems of the Philosophy of Religion, which itself does not come to a knowledge of a standard by mere abstract thinking but by critical examination of the available data. It will aid the development of a Scientific Theology to keep its specific disciplines as clearly defined as possible. Thus the History of Religions will supply the material for their Comparative Study, which will systematise it in a particular manner to become the subject matter of the Philosophy of Religion.

It should be recognised that over and above all other difficulties in treating religions as objects of scientific research is that of falling, either on the one hand into a pure naturalism, or on the other, into an arbitrary introduction of spiritualistic conceptions. The former endeavours to give an account of religious experience as merely subjective states in relation to no world except that of sense perception. In this the enumeration and consideration of external factors gives the appearance of a truly objective treatment. The *idea* of God, as a subjective fact, will be recognised. But

God as a real power, objectively distinct from the idea in the mind, is left entirely out of account. Against such a position it may reasonably be maintained that God, as a real power, is as objective a factor in the religious development of the human mind as any factor whatever. Thus, it is unjustifiable to neglect the possibility, certainly believed by most religions to be an actuality, that God is in immediate contact with the souls of men, and is the chief factor in their religious development. No writer who has had any genuine appreciation of the philosophical questions here involved has been able to adopt the purely naturalistic attitude. On the other hand the arbitrary introduction of the activity of God must likewise be discountenanced, but again, what is regarded as arbitrary will depend upon our conceptions of His nature and of His activity in relation to men.[30]

30. We thus pass definitely to discussion included in the Philosophy of Religion. For some literature on this subject see Appendix B.

CHAPTER I

THE SOURCES AND NATURE OF RELIGIOUS TRUTH

There is no one starting-point for the Comparative Study of Religions determined by the nature of the facts themselves. We are actuated by merely formal considerations in choosing to embark first upon an examination of the ways in which men have supposed they have acquired the knowledge embodied in religious beliefs and practices and associated with religious emotions.

Nowhere is there satisfactory evidence of a transition from a state of non-religion to that of religion, but almost everywhere may be found examples of the process from less to more insight in religion. In this it is essential to notice that though an external factor may seem to be the immediate cause of transitions, it is rarely, if ever the sole or more important one. Not infrequently the same external factor has been experienced many times previously without occasioning the particular type of experience now associated with it. To take an example from a sphere entirely different from that of religion: many men had seen things fall before Newton saw the apple fall which set him on the train of thought leading eventually to the enunciation of the Law of Gravitation. Even Newton himself must often have seen things fall previously. So also in the realm of religion: although some external fact may have been, especially in the earlier stages, the occasion of advance or at least of change in religion, the main factor has always been the contribution from within the individual mind. The changes

introduced in religions in their higher stages have indubitably been due to the initiative of particular individuals, and it is only to be supposed that in their manner and degree it was thus in earlier times also.

From the earliest times in the histories of all peoples, there seem to have been men who have exercised special religious functions. The father of the family in the widest sense, the patriarch, generally embodied in himself the special religious offices of the family, and the chief performed the leading part of the religious functions of the tribe. The tribal chief may have been the tribal patriarch, or have obtained his position by established prowess in conflict with other tribes, or in restraining the unruly factions within the tribe. So, in many instances, the leading part in the religious functions came to be taken by men who appeared to give evidence of possessing some particular powers. Thus arose the distinctive class of priests and magicians.

If it is supposed, as to us appears the most reasonable procedure, that the earliest form of religion was Nature-worship preceding any notion of soul, at that stage there was nothing that might be called knowledge except the immediate presentations of the senses and the experience of the emotions aroused. At its most primitive levels Nature-worship includes simply the emotions of wonder, joy, and fear, occasioned by the more striking phenomena of Nature. It is the object of Nature itself, not any spirit "within" or "beyond" the object, which is worshipped.

With the more definite rise of the notion of spirits and the postulation of spirits as causing the changes in Nature, that is, with the rise of Animism, came more specific conceptions of the way in which knowledge on religious matters could be obtained. For questions arose as to the wishes of these spirits, and the ways in which they should be approached. From this time forms of divination began. Divination consists in the interpretation of particular phenomena. The main aim was to learn about the future,

and the prospects of success of various courses of action, and this could only depend on the intentions of the gods.

The knowledge supposed among primitive peoples to be obtained from the spirits or gods by methods of divination may not seem religious when judged by later conceptions.[1] Nevertheless, in so far as the practices implied a trust in the gods they are in the line of religious development. To those who could understand, the stars might reveal coming events of good or evil omen. Even to-day astrology appears to be widespread in the East, and this not simply among the most ignorant classes. Hindus and even Parsis in India have the horoscopes of boys and girls examined before finally arranging a marriage. In ancient Babylon one section of the priests made periodical reports to the king on the conjunctions and movements of the heavenly bodies, ascertaining

1. Practices of divination are frequently regarded simply as a form of magic, but this is open to objection. Dr. Codrington, for example, treats of divination, dreams, prophecy, solely in his chapter on magic. See *The Melanesians : Their Anthropology and Folklore.* Oxford 1891. Undoubtedly here, as in most aspects of early religion, magic and religion are closely associated. But divination is sometimes magical and sometimes religious. If the phenomena interpreted are supposed to be caused by the spirit in order to communicate with men, they are religious. Divination can only be conceived as magic when it is supposed that there is a certain compulsion from the person performing a specific act so that the spirit *must* give the information desired. The tendency in the latter instance is for all thought of the spirit to disappear and to be placed solely on the external means and on exact performance. Dr. Jastrow (*Aspects of Religious Beliefs and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria.* New York. 1911 p. 211) remarks that the Babylonian astrology merits attention " both as an example of the pathetic yearning of men to peer into the minds of the gods, and of the influence that Babylonian-Assyrian astrology exerted throughout the ancient world. Adopted by the Greeks, and welded to Greek modes of thought and Greek views of life, (it) was handed on from generation to generation through the Middle Ages down to the very threshold of modern science. " It may have passed into Europe chiefly through the Saracens. In the court of the Abbasid Caliphs and of the Muslim kings of Persia and India the *Munajjim* (Astrologer) played

whether they portended good or evil.[2] The very "primitive" Bushmen of South Africa believe that " the stars know the time at which we die "[3] and " the star tells us that a bad thing has happened at another place ".[4] Amongst the Romans the augurs would interpret the flight of birds, and the priests the entrails of the victim of the sacrifice. The Sea Dyaks of the present day consult the omen birds before starting on a war expedition.[5] The withering of the sacred fig tree in the Roman Forum presaged some momentous event for the nation : the rustling of the sacred oak made the will of the deity known to the Greeks. There may have been some connection with the influence of spirits in the reputed earlier belief in Japan that words caught by chance from passers-by would solve a doubt or question to which otherwise it was impossible to get an answer.[6] The interpretation has been given that it was because the smoke of Cain's sacrifice did not rise directly towards heaven, that Cain supposed the non-acceptance of the sacrifice by Jahveh.[7]

A step forward is made when certain mechanical means are deliberately arranged so that the god might indicate his

---

an important part e. g. Nizami Uruzi says that the services of the scribe, the poet, the astrologer, and the physician, are indispensable. Though with regard to later developments Dr. Jastrow may be right in maintaining that the theory is relatively abstract, assuming " a co-ordination between occurrences on earth and phenomena observed in the heavens ", (p. 209) it seems to us that the beginnings of astrology were at least as early, if not earlier, than other forms of divination.

2. L. W. King : *History of Babylon.* 1915. p. 189.

3. 4. W. H. I. Bleek and L. C. Lloyd : *Bushman Folklore.* London 1911. p. 389.

5. E. H. Gomes : *Seventeen Years among the Sea Dyaks of Borneo.* 1911. p. 79.

6. B. H. Chamberlain : *The Classical Poetry of the Japanese.* 1880 p. 58—59 called *yufu-ura* or " evening divination " because practiced in the evening.

7. Genesis IV.

will through them, and thus the counsel of the god might be definitely sought. This has been called by Dr. Jastrow "voluntary" divination as distinct from "involuntary," such as the previously given examples. The most elaborate system of divination was probably that of ancient Babylonia in the inspection of sheep livers. "The soul of the animal (i. e. in the sacrifice) is attuned to the soul of the god, becomes one with it. Therefore, if the signs on the liver of the sacrificial animal can be read, the mind of the god becomes clear. To read the deity's mind is to know the future."[8] The diviners of the Masai and the Nandi shake pebbles out of a buffalo horn and the answer depends on whether the number thrown out is odd or even. Tibetan Buddhists also cast lots to get information from spirits. If we accept the view that the term Urim in the Hebrew scriptures refers to a means for casting lots, this is definitely referred to as a method by which "the Lord" was thought to communicate with men.[9] Even in New Testament times the practice must have remained, for the Christian Apostles cast lots—with prayer—in order that they might know God's will as to whether Barnabas or Matthias should take the place of Judas.[10] It can hardly be supposed that the same idea does not underlie most other similar instances. Pre-Islamic Arabs divined by means of arrows upon which different possibilities were written, as "My Lord hath commanded me;" "My Lord hath forbidden me."[11] Amongst the Chinese it was thought possible to obtain knowledge by means of grain,[12] though the exact mode of procedure is not known.

8. Jastrow: *ibid* p. 144. Lectures III and IV are most important discussions in this connection. 9. See *I. Samuel*; *XXVIII.* 6.

10. *Acts of the Apostles, I. 26.* 11. Imam Kazi

12. Among the backward Bhiel, Naika, and Dhodia tribes of Gujerat, especially the goddess worshippers, and even among more educated Gujeratis grain is brought to the priest at the time of sickness. The grain has been passed some times around the head of the sick person, and the priest examining it, indicates the cause of the evil, and how it is to be overcome.

The ethical and religious element is evident in the passage :

> " Be careful each of you in your conduct
> For the grace of God is not conferred twice:
> With a handful of grain I go out and divine
> How I might be able to become good. "

As the underlying principle and the general attitude is the same, mention may be made here of the widespread practice of opening at random a sacred book, and regarding the passage upon which one's eyes first rest, or the most fitting passage on the page when read through, as conveying a special revelation from God. The practice is common among Muslims, and the Sikhs, and has frequently prevailed among Christians. It was probably most prominent among Protestants : an interesting allusion to the practice as amongst "evangelical " Christians is found in George Eliot's *Adam Bede.* But even so great a personage as Augustine seems to have been affected by the same thing. Once hearing a child repeating " Take up and read " he interpreted it as a command from God "to open the book and read ". " I seized, opened, and in silence read that section on which my eyes first fell ". This in fact was the turning-point of his life, for " instantly at the end of this sentence, by a light as it were of serenity infused into my heart, all the darkness of doubt vanished away ".[13]

The Chinese believed that revelations came by means of marks on the back of a tortoise, and in this connection we have an excellent example of how in relation to such beginnings late and higher developments have been made. We are told that over three thousand years ago, estimating roughly, the so-called King Wen, the virtual founder of the Chow dynasty wrote sixty-four short essays symbolically expressing various teachings on moral, social, political and other matters. He is represented as having arrived at these teachings by the interpretation of sixty-four signs, which he, or the Emperor Fu Hsi (centuries earlier) had elaborated

13. *Confessions.* Bk. VIII. (xii) 29. trs. by E. B. Pusey.

from eight signs, believed to have been divinely revealed to Fu Hsi on the back of a tortoise or dragon. They come down to us centuries later,[14] embodied in the sacred book *The Canon of the Changes* in the form:—

The value of this example is that it suggests how, by additions and modifications *through new interpretation springing from within the minds of individuals*, from such primitive beginnings of divination something of value may gradually be elaborated.

Of all means by which men in earlier times thought they received information from the gods, dreams and visions were the most common. Properly to appreciate this fact it is necessary to free oneself from the more enlightened view that dreams are not as real as waking life. To the early mind dreams must have been eminently real. In them religious places, practices, and ideas are supposed to have become known. The Hebrew Jacob had a dream in which he learnt that the place in which he was was "holy,"[15] and he received

14. See H. A. Giles : *Confucianism and its Rivals.* 1915 pp. 3–5.
15. Genesis XXVIII.

a promise of the land around it. Amongst the peoples of ancient Mexico nearly all messages were supposed to be received from the supernatural world in dreams and visions.[16] Artificial means were frequently adopted to induce what appeared to be the same as the ordinary dream state. At Delphi some sort of vapour or smoke brought about the supposed condition of inspiration of the person who uttered the oracle. Amongst the American Indians the aid of drugs was resorted to. The plant Soma associated with early Aryan religion may have been a source of some form of exhilarating and intoxicating drink, inducing a state of ecstasy. Even Aristotle regarded dreams as the means taken by the Divine power to make revelations to men. Egyptian inscriptions relate how a king came to a temple to seek Divine wisdom and "turned away from this mysterious interview with face lit up and heart full of joy, because he had heard the god speak to him 'as a father to his son.'[17] In Buddhist and Christian legend may be seen good examples of the belief that higher beings communicated through dreams and visions. Mary, the mother of Jesus, and her husband Joseph are both represented as having had visions concerning Jesus. Maya-deva, the mother of Gautama Buddha is described as learning in a dream something of the greatness of the son to be born to her.

Even from the earliest times, the leaders of religion—eventually the class of priests—must have given to their utterances the sanction of messages or commands from the gods. Nevertheless, in most religions of history, there is a fairly clear distinction between those who carried on the ordinary cults, and those who ventured to speak from experiences of their own—sometimes from dreams or visions, sometimes from mystical ecstasy or reflective contemplation.

16. ERE. IV. p. 782.

17. ERE. IV, p. 792. Maspero supposes that the priest spoke in the name of the God, but it may have been that he was aware of the divine response directly in his own soul, in some form of vision.

A Vaishnavite Priest

These latter are best called "prophets." The moral and religious prophet, as the revealer of the knowledge of God, gained through his own personal religious experience, must have existed at earlier stages than there is record of. For, with the prophets of history we are already at a high stage of spiritual evolution.[18] Just as intellectual and artistic advances, even in their primitive stages, presuppose men of more than ordinary ability and insight, so also there have been men of keener moral sensibility, religious sentiment and feeling than that of the majority of those around them. These are the prophets and the saints. At all times they have been distinguished by the intensity of their religious life. The prophet is convinced of his grasp of divine truth: he feels that he is in such communion with the divine that he is able to obtain a fuller and purer knowledge of it than his fellows. He is filled with the desire, which he usually accepts as a duty, to preach and thus to convey his knowledge to others. He speaks with the voice of conviction rooted in the intensity of his own experience, which it is psychically impossible for him continually to doubt. With the force of emotion generated in his own soul, he sets forth the ideas which have come to him: and he proclaims them to be the word of God. A man so filled with enthusiasm will be

18. Zarathustra stands out with grandeur and moral force amongst the first and greatest of prophets. The ancient Hebrews undoubtedly were pre-eminently the people of prophets, as the peoples of India were of ascetic saints. Between the two are the vast differences of the Semitic and the Aryan temperaments. In the former the emphasis is on moral earnestness; in the latter on rational conviction and the feeling of calm attainment. In the former the upward striving of active achievement; in the latter the bliss of actual achievement is in the forefront of attention. Parsis regard Zarathustra; Jews, Moses; Muslims, Mohammed as respectively the greatest of the prophets. Orthodox Christians look upon Jesus as more than prophet and saint, though advanced liberal views often describe him simply as such. Similarly Gautama Buddha has been accorded a character distinctly superhuman. Modern scholarship is, however, in this case also insisting on more attention to the empirical facts of history.

influenced by it in his daily life : thus the prophet is often, though not always, a saint. The saint lives as though conscious of an intimate relation with the divine. His conduct towards others manifests the influence of his relationship. The saint may not be a prophet : he may teach in no other way than by the manner of his life. His character and his acts, his demeanour and his sayings, may reveal something of the nature of the good, and thus of the knowledge of God, to his fellowmen.[19] In the presence of the prophet and the saint, the average man feels something of their " spiritual *mana*." From the known character of prophets and saints in the higher stages of religions, we have to postulate in their degree similar outstanding individuals in their own particular circumstances in the earlier stages.[20]

---

19. " It should be noted that the Catholic Church alone dares canonise saints and say to the world: ' See, these are the best of my children, whom I place on the high altar, that you may admire them, and borrow from their beautiful lives what is lacking in your own : for as they lived in accordance with the principles and the faith of Catholic morality, they are worthy to be your models. " But in order to be beatified " one must have performed at least two well authenticated miracles, " and " to secure canonisation two more miracles must be proved". Canon Hughes de Ragnan. *The Vatican.* 1914 pp. 79–82.

20. The study of hagiology will not be complete until the lives of the saints in different countries and religions have been historically and systematically compared. The psychology of the saints with some comparisons of saints of different religions is discussed in Henri Joly: *The Psychology of the Saints* 3rd ed. 1913. Dr. S. Curtis: *Primitive Semitic Religion Today* 1902 gives examples of Jews, Christians, and Muslims worshipping at the shrine of a saint in a manner suggestive much rather of the offerings made to a primitive local god. For the Christian Saints the reader of English will turn to Alban Butler: *The lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other principal Saints.* Dublin n. d. and S. Baring Gould: *The Lives of the Saints.* Edinburgh 1872. 3rd ed. 1914. The Muslim Saints were mostly Sufis. The author of *Tadhkiratu'l–Awliya* (ed. R. A. Nicholson 1905) p. 13 says that after the Quran and the Traditions of the Prophet nothing surpasses the sayings of the Saints.

Quiet contemplation and reflection have presented themselves to philosophers in all ages as the way to divine knowledge, and it has been followed by not a few religious teachers. Gautama Buddha came to enlightenment after years of meditation: the light that came to him was the light of knowledge. The Yogi endeavours to abstract his attention from all the transitory sensations, ideas, and feelings of the passing moment, that he may obtain a perception of eternal universal truth. The Jain Tirthankara Mahavira, for example, gained thus the highest degree of knowledge, Kevala jnana, or omniscience. This is the method of religious insight insisted upon by most philosophical forms of Hinduism.[21]

Another manner in which men in the past believed knowledge came from the gods was through angels, generally conceived as a super-human form of spiritual being. Angels are supposed to have come to the patriarch Abraham: in fact, the Hebrew Scriptures contain continual reference to the " angel of the Lord." So also in the earliest Christian books the belief is found : "the angel of the Lord" came to Zacharias and announced the birth of John the Baptist.[22] The " angel Gabriel, " came to Mary the mother of Jesus and told her of the character and work of the son who was to be born to her.[23] In later times the followers of Mohammed also supposed that the same angel Gabriel appeared twice to the Prophet.

Amongst many peoples the belief has prevailed that the gods have come to earth in an incarnate form, as animals or human beings, in order to give knowledge to men and in other ways to aid them. It appears to have been more prevalent amongst the Aryan or Indo-European than among the Semitic peoples. Yet though the Hebrews did not definitely accept the idea, they believed that Jahveh

21. On this see C. R. Jain : *The Key of Knowledge.* Arrah, India, 1915. and *The Practical Path* Arrah, 1917.

22. *Luke I.* 11. 23. *Luke I.* 26. 24. Bukhari. Cairo ed. pp. 3,

himself came down and wrote the Ten Commandments on tables of stone, and further, spoke to Moses " face to face." The Druzes are said to consider the sixth Fatimid Caliph as the last and most perfect manifestation or incarnation of the deity.[25] The North West Amazons believe that " the good spirit Neva, " evidently regarded as the chief spirit, came to the Indians.[26] In the Hindu beliefs in the *avatara*, the descents or incarnations of Vishnu, the idea is perhaps more profusely developed than anywhere else. Although divine incarnations are usually conceived as having other purposes besides that of giving men knowledge, the teaching of truth has been an important feature in most conceptions of incarnations.

The development of what is called religious knowledge cannot rightly be considered as at any time quite independent of the efforts of human intelligence and the vagaries of the imagination. A very large part of the contents of religious beliefs and the implications of religious practices is due to the reason and the imagination of men striving to reach an understanding of and a satisfactory mode of relationship with external nature and their fellowmen. Mythology and magic, the artistic and the moral, historical fact and legends blend here with rational philosophy and the spiritual truths of the prophets. The lowest and the highest known religions include descriptions of the universe neither purely rational, nor definitely spiritual; descriptions due to early efforts of reason in contact with insufficient data, and swayed by more or less uncontrolled emotion. The ideas thus obtained were expressed in song and epic poem and passed on orally, especially in association with social religious practices at the assemblies of people at the festivals.

Thus, the Rig-Veda the oldest part of the Hindu scriptures; the Gathas, the oldest Zoroastrian literature; the Book

25. E. G. Browne :*A Literary History of Persia.* 1906 *I p.* 398.
26. T. Whiffen: *The North West Amazons.* 1915 *p.* 222.

of Odes in China; the Hebrew and Babylonian Psalms; the Granth Sahib of the Sikhs, are all in the form of hymns.

If religion is taken in the wide sense, such epics as the Gilgamesh epic; the Iliad and the Odyssey; the Ramayana and the Mahabharata; and the Norse Sagas are surely as closely connected with the religious sentiments of the peoples concerned as the various historical and legendary episodes of the Hebrew scriptures. The earliest Buddhist canon is clearly composed of supposed discourses and sayings of Gautama Buddha and his first disciples and of rules for the Order, all of which were capable of being easily learnt. The continual repetition of the early beliefs in this form led to their fixity in the mind, and this fixity was one cause of their being regarded as authoritative and final.[27]

---

27. The process of growth, and also of modification, by expurgation and otherwise, of a traditional book is excellently illustrated in Gilbert Murray's: *The Rise of the Greek Epic.* 2nd ed. 1911. As Dr. Murray points out, pp. 210–213, the Iliad and the Odyssey are first met in clear history recited at the Panathenaea, the greatest of all the festivals of Athens, though they must have been recited at the great Ionian gatherings before this. It is important to note the great difference between the mainly poetic purpose in these Greek epics as handed down to us and the religious purpose of the Hebrew scriptural narratives. The same is to be said of the Norse Sagas, which though probably the chief means of conveying beliefs concerning the gods, and encouraging the appropriate attitude towards them, were predominantly inspired by a purpose not definitely religious. That the Sagas are in part religious may be seen from the summary in the introduction, pp. XXI–XXVII, of the Walter Scott Library ed. of *Volsunga Saga*: *The Story of the Volsungs and Nibelungs*, trs. by William Morris, n. d. Yet, "the connection between the mythology and the religion of the people is very slight, for the poet's hand has been at work adding grace and humour, re-interpreting in the light of fancy rather than of truth." Olive Bray: *The Elder or Poetic Edda, commonly known as Saemund's Edda.* London 1908. Introd. vii. It depends very largely on the characteristics and tendencies of the different peoples whether such traditional literature takes predominantly one form or another, as for example, a religious or an artistic character.

Sacred Scriptures

The existence of writings regarded as sacred and authoritative is of such importance to a religion, and the knowledge of the attitudes adopted towards such writings by the devotees in the particular instances so essential for understanding the general outlook that brief indication of positions in some religions are here given. The similarity of the claims made for these sacred scriptures suggests a basis in some genuine need. The lack of definite scriptures – especially after the establishment of writing – seems to imply that the religion is comparatively primitive.

The essentially rudimentary character of the Shintoism of Japan is suggested by the apparent absence of anything which may strictly be called sacred scriptures. There are some norito or prayers for use in worship, which probably are of early date. The historical chronicles, the Kojiki,[28] and the Nihongi,[29] have acquired some respect amongst the priestly class, as the earliest systematic account of the stories of the gods, and of the origin of Japan and its peoples: but they are not to be regarded as scriptures.

Taoism, which evidently assumed a more systematic form from earlier elements,[30] through the work of Laotze, would make his collection of maxims and reflections its chief authoritative book. The story is told by Sz'em Khien that Laotze, wishing to withdraw from the world, passed over the frontier of the West. At the request of the guard of the pass he wrote down his thoughts before retiring into seclusion. These form the *Tao-teh-king*. It is probable that many of the maxims, and possibly also the general attitude, go back to early times. Two other books are said to have attained greater popularity amongst the ordinary Taoists: the *Kan ying peen*, or Book of Rewards and Punishments,

28. Translated by B. H. Chamberlain: *Kojiki*. Transactions R. A. S. Japan, vol. x. Supplement 1875.

29. Translated by W. G. Ashton: *Nihongi*. 2 vols. 1896.

30. See E. H. Parker: *Studies in Chinese Religion* 1910 Pt. II.

and the *Yin chih wan* or Book of Secret Blessings. Both are collections of ethical maxims : e. g. " If you form in your heart a good intention, although you may not have done any good, the good spirits follow.[31] " Neither however has any very explicit reference to the non-ethical doctrines of Taoism.[32]

As Confucianism regarded as a widespread system also arose out of earlier elements, so the Chinese Classics which are considered the Canon of Confucianism are accepted more or less by Taoists. Dr. de Groot definitely asserts that as teaching the ethical and political wisdom implied in the principle of the " Tao ", the Confucian Classics are Taoist books. Confucianism is much rather an ethical than a distinctly religious system, as may be seen especially from the works attributed to Confucius, and in the four *Shu*. The five *King* contain material of a very early date and have more resemblance to other sacred scriptures. The *Shu King* or Book of History ; the *Shi King* or Book of Poetry or Songs ; the *Li Ki* or Memorials on Rites of Social Life suggest their nature by the titles. The *Yih King* or Book of Changes is a composition of matter of early dates including religious and ethical notions associated with forms of divination. The *Hsiao King*, the Book of Filial Piety is ethical. There seems to be no general claim for these writings to be regarded as any form of divine revelation, except such as is implied in the divination in the Book of Changes.[34]

---

31. R. K. Douglas : *Confucianism and Taoism* 1906. p. 270.

32. James Legge has a translation of "*The Texts of Taoism*. SBE. vols. xxxix ; xl. E. H. Parker gives a translation of the *Tao-teh-king* in the book mentioned. J. M. de Groot : *Religion in China*. New York 1912 p. 188 mentions an edition of the Taoist Canon published in 1598 containing " probably between three and four thousand volumes. "

33. *ibid* p. 40.

34. The Classics of Confucianism are translated by James Legge in SBE. vols. III, XVI, XXVII, XXVIII.

The sacred literature of Egypt is said to be of considerable extent, but not very much of it has yet been edited, or by translation 35 made accessible to the non-Egyptologist. What has appeared is connected predominantly with the requirements for the future life. The " Pyramid Texts " of the Book of the Dead are, says Dr. Wallis Budge " ancient religious compositions, which the priests of the College or school of Anu succeeded in establishing as the authorised version "36 in the first six dynasties. The claim made in later versions, that certain chapters were the work of the god Thoth was probably due to their antiquity and place in tradition. For though the selections of the texts used in the different copies of the Book of the Dead was determined in part by developments and changes in matters of doctrine, certain selections were considered no doubt as " absolutely necessary for the preservation of the body of the deceased in the tomb and for the welfare of his soul in its new state of existence. Traditional selections would probably be respected and recent selections approved by any dominant school of religious thought in Egypt were without doubt accepted ".37 Tradition also appears to have determined the sequence of sections to some extent, although each section was originally " a separate and independent composition ",..." written with a definite object. "38

Other books are collections of hymns, such as The Lamentations of Isis and Nephthys, and the Book of the glorifying Osiris in Aquerti. Another book, partly composed from the Book of the Dead is the " Book of the Breaths

35. English translations have been published by E. A. Wallis Budge, as follows : *The Book of the Dead.* The Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum. 1895.

The Egyptian Heaven and Hell. Being the Book Am-Tuat, The Book of Gates, and the contents of the books of the other world described and compared. 3 vols. 1905.

The Book of the Opening of the Mouth. 2 vols. 1909.

The Liturgy of Funeral Offerings. 1909.

36, 37, 38. *The Book of the Dead.* Introduction pp. xxvii, xxvi, xxx.

of Life, made by Isis for her brother Osiris, for giving new life to his soul and body, and renewing all his limbs, that he may reach the horizon with his father the Sun, that his soul may rise to heaven in the disc of the Moon, that his body may shine in the stars of the constellation Orion, on the bosom of Nut. "[39]

So again the sacred literature of Assyria and Babylonia, as far as we yet know it, consists of (a) Magical Texts or Incantations ; (b) Hymns to the Gods ; and (c) Penitential Psalms.[40] "There is," says Dr. Rogers, " a great spiritual history between the first and the last of these forms of literature, but the sad element in it is this, that this spiritual history does not represent a growth that sloughed off the lower form as the higher was attained. " The stories and myths, especially those with something of a cosmological significance, as that told in the tablets called by Dr. King *The Seven Tablets of Creation* and the Gilgamesh epic, were the means by which the ideas concerning the gods were transmitted. Much in these resembles the early Hebrew narratives, suggesting mutual influence or a common source.

The Parsis recognise the Avesta (or Zend-Avesta, i. e. the Avesta with Commentary)[41] as most authoritative in matters concerning the divine knowledge in their religion. The later Pahlavi texts frequently refer to it as a " revelation ". The Avesta itself starts with the statement : " Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra ". The prophet prays fervently for understanding of the benevolent mind of God, for the " word which is the mathra of welfare and immortality ". " Do thou reveal unto me thy nature O Ahura, (the power of thy attributes) and those of

39. P. Le Page Renouf : *Religion of Ancient Egypt.* 1880. *pp.* 207-8.

40. See R. W. Rogers: *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria.* 1908. Lectures III, IV and V. p. 144. Also S. Langdon : *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms.* Paris 1909.

41. L. Mills in *An Exposition of the Lore of the Avesta.* Bombay 1916, says that " Avesta " and " Veda " would both mean " Sacred lore " p. 1 cf. pp. 13-15.

thy kingdom, and by these the blessed gifts of thy good mind."[42] Much of the Avesta is in the form of questions asked by Zarathustra, and answers given by Ahura Mazda. But the prophet is represented as a reformer rather than as the revealer of a new religion. Frequent reference is to be found to the "first teaching". "I will declare this world's first teaching, that which the all-wise Ahura Mazda hath told me."[43] In the later exposition, in the Dinkard, it appears that this teaching was given to the first man: "Gayomard, who was the origin of mankind and the first king of the world, was the first to accept the religion from the creator."[44] Further developments of the theory of the origin are suggested in the statement that "According to the tenets of the Zoroastrian religion God first made the Ahunavar or Yatha ahu vaeriyo, which is in the form of a hymn. From the three clauses or sentences of the Ahunavar have originated the scriptures or Avesta comprised respectively in Gatha, Date, and Mathre; and from the twenty-one words composing the Ahunavar, seven to each sentence, have originated the twenty-one Nasks."[45] However, the Gatha were 'told by Ahura Mazda to Zarathustra.' The three chief evidences that the faith is the word of God are, says the Dinkard: "First that it contains perfect wisdom. Second, that it contains more of the truth than other faiths. Third, that to him who is anxious about religion it gives a complete knowledge about the existence of God."[46]

There is no faltering utterance in the faith of Mazda it is "the most imposing, best, and most beautiful of all religions which exist, and of all that in future shall come to

42. *Yasna* xxxiii SBE. XXXI p. 78.

43. *Yasna* xlv. SBE. XXXI. p. 126. Mills says: "The 'first' teaching was a prominent idea with the Zoroastrians. Z. is called in the later Avesta the paoiryotkaesha. He hardly plays the role of a reformer in the Avesta. He is mentioned after others chronologically, not as repudiating them. He might better be termed reviver."

44. *Dinkard*.ed. Sanjana 1874. I. p. 29.See M. Dhalla : *Zoroastrian Theology*. New York 1914. p. 11.

45. *Dinkard* I. p. 2n. cf. IV. p. 248. 46. VII. p. 467.

knowledge. Yea, to Ahura Mazda do I ascribe all good, and such shall be the worship of the Mazdayasnian belief".47 It is a sin to teach one of the faithful another faith–another law, (or as the Commentary says–" a creed which is not ours ".) Zarathustra is to be final : he prays to the great Lord : " Make it clear that I am the guide for both the worlds."48 When Angra Mainyu tempts the prophet to renounce the religion it is by the " word " that he is overcome. This may possibly mean a spell, but equally well that it is by the divine truth that evil is overcome. "By this Word will I strike, by this Word will I repel."49 And the truth, the saving truth, " the word well–spoken, " " the bounteous word of reason," is " the most true religious knowledge, Mazda-made and holy." The *Gathas* "are guardians and defenders," "spiritual food" and "clothing" to the soul. In the *Visparad* the sacred writings are made the object of worship; but not only in their spirituality : "We sacrifice to the chapters of the later Yasna, and to its metrical lines, its words, and word structure";50 "We worship all the words of Zarathustra."51

47. *Yasna* xii. 9. SBE. XXXI p.250. 48. *Vendidad* viii SBE. IV 101. Ahura Mazda chose Zarathustra from the entire corporeal world to be the prophet of the Mazdayasnian religion on account of his good qualities, consummate thought, perfect intellect, superior to all in good thoughts, words, and deeds ; able to remove the miseries of dumb, and crippled, possessing the power of keeping men aloof from sin ; securing means to help the pious; and having the highest appreciation of the Mazdayasnian religion. Dinkard II. p. 125. In *Dinkard* ed. Sanjana. Vol IX pp. 618-9 insight into the future is ascribed to him.

49. *Vendidad* xix. SBE.IV. p.212. 50. *Visparad* xxiSBE.XXXI p.362.

51. *Yasna* lvii SBE. XXXI. p. 298. M. Dhalla : p. 344 refers to the belief that "The mere utterance of the sacred texts....would produce marvellous effects." Shapur II is stated to have fixed the canon of the texts. English translations of Parsi canonical and traditional texts are: SBE: IV. V. XVIII. XXIII. XXIV. XXXI. XXXVII.; A.H. Bleek *Avesta* 1864. J. H. Moulton : *The Gathas* in *Early Zoroastrianism* 1913. P. B. and D. P. Sanjana : *Dinkard* 13 vols. 1872–1912. Bombay. P. B. Sanjana: *Ganj-i Shayigan* and *Andarz-i Atarpati Maraspand.* Bombay 1885. H. J. Asa : *Arda Viraf.* Bombay 1872.

Concerning no sacred scriptures have there been so many different opinions as to origin and nature as of those of the Hindus. 52 The " pious sages of old " are said to have "conversed about sacred truths with the gods", to have been " associates of the gods " , "sons of the gods " , " born from Agni ". Vasishtas, whose hymns " cannot be followed by any other bard" is "the son of Mitra and Indra". The gods and the sages resemble one another : "Agni is wise"; "Agni is a most sage *rishi* " " Indra is a priest : Indra is a *rishi* ", The hymns are " divine ". The sage confesses " Thou(Indra) didst stimulate the poet in the composition of his hymns " . and prays " sharpen my intellect like the edge of an iron instrument". "Indra and Varuna, I have seen through austere fervour that which ye formerly gave to the rishis ; wisdom, understanding of speech, sacred lore ". From these, and other texts, it seems, as Muir maintains, that some of the ancient sages of the Rig Veda considered the hymns as due to some form of divine inspiration. In later thought, more profusely than in other literatures, more elaborate theories and ideas arose. The verses have a definite divine origin; springing from Time drawn forth by Brahma they are yet eternal.

52. The subject is discussed in considerable detail in J. Muir: *Sanskrit Texts* vol iii : *The Vedas : Opinions of their authors and of later Indian writers on their origin, inspiration, and authority.* 2nd ed. 1873. The above is obtained chiefly from this source. The authoritative writings are divided into *S'ruti*, and *S'mitri*. The former include the four *Vedas* the *Sanhitas*, the *Brahmanas*, the *Aranyakas*, and the *Upanishads*. The S'mitri is not so well defined. It certainly includes the legal codes such as the *Manusmitri*. The *Bhagavadgita* and possibly much more of the *Mahabharata*, and the *Ramayana*, would seem to occupy as prominent a place as any literary compositions in Brahmanical Hinduism. English translations are : SBE. I. XXII. XV. XXVI. XXXII. XLI. XLII. XLVI also II. VII. VIII. XIV. XXV. XXIX. XXX. XXXIV. XXXVIII. R. T. H. Griffith : *The Hymns of the Rig-Veda* I, II 1897; *The Hymns of the Sama-Veda.* I, II, 1893-1907; *The Hymns of the Atharva-Veda* I. II. 1916, 1896. *The White Yajur-Veda.* 1899. all Benares. Whitney W. D. *Atharva-Veda Sanhita.* Cambridge U. S. A. 1905. See also the series *The Sacred Books of the Hindus.* Allahabad 1909.

It would be difficult to carry the idea of the authority of the Vedas further than does the Code of Manu where it is maintained: "A Brahman who should destroy these three worlds, and eat food received from any quarter whatever, would incur no guilt if he retained in his memory the Rig-Veda. Repeating thrice with intent mind the Sanhita of the Rik, or the Yajush, or the Saman, with the Upanishads, he is freed from all his sins. "[53]

Changes of attitude towards the Vedas are relative to the particular movements. Various passages in the Puranas claim an almost equal authority for themselves as for the Vedas. So again the Mahabharata is said to out-weigh the four Vedas together. In course of time a more systematic discussion of the authority of the Vedas arose. Thus, Madhava describes the Veda as the book "which makes known *vedayati*, the supernatural (*lit.* nonsecular) means of obtaining desirable objects, and getting rid of undesirable objects ..... It has been said 'men discover by the Veda those expedients which cannot be ascertained by perception or inference: and this is the characteristic feature of the Veda.'[54] S'ankara " is never tired of declaring that S'ruti is the one source of knowledge in matters transcending the senses."[55] Passing over the centuries an example of the orthodox Hindu attitude is found in the modern revival in the Arya Samaj. Swami Dayananda, the founder, himself said : " The four Vedas, the repository of religious truth are the word of God".[56] They are absolutely free from error and the supreme and independent authority in all things. Lajpat Rai writes of the Swami's teaching: " The Vedas were the word of God: they had been revealed in the beginning of creation for the good of the race: they alone were the primeval revelation."[57]

P. C. Ray : *Mahabharata*, 14 vols. Calcutta 1893. M. N. Dhatt *Ramayana* Calcutta 1896 L. D. Barnett : The *Bhagavad Gita* n. d. For selections; J. Muir: *Sanskrit Texts.* 5 Vols.

53. Muir : *ibid* p. 25. 54 Muir p. 67-8.

55. Lingesha Mahabhagavat: *Indian Philosophical Review*, I. p. 28.

56, 57. Lajpat Rai: *The Arya Samaj.* 1915 pp. 83. 79, cf. pp. 43.

The name " Pitaka ", (baskets), applied to the writings held to be authoritative by the Buddhists suggests that the canon consists of collections. This is confirmed by an examination of the contents. In a way the contents of the Pali Tripitaka correspond to the three " jewels ". The Sutra-pitaka is regarded as representing the discourses of Gautama Buddha ; the Vinaya-pitaka, the rules of the Order ; and the Abhidharma-pitaka, the fundamental Doctrines.[58] The authority of these collections seems to rest solely on the view that they contain actual teachings of the Buddha or early material of traditional authority, in harmony with those teachings. Much in the writings suggests that it was handed down orally.

The Four Sacred Truths which occupy so fundamental a place in Gautama's doctrine were not " handed down " to him, but as he sat in contemplation under the Bo tree , enlightenment came to him : " There arose within me the eye, there arose the knowledge, there arose the understanding, there arose the wisdom, there arose the light ". And this knowledge gave him emancipation. When Mara, the tempter, would have him let go the hold on this life, and so enjoy Nirvana completely, he replied " I shall not die , O Evil One, until the brethren and sisters of the Order and until the lay disciples of either sex shall have become true hearers, wise and well trained, ready and learned, versed in the scriptures ..... until they, having thus learned the doctrine, shall be able to tell others of it, preach it, make it known, establish it, open it, minutely explain it, and make it clear— until they, when others start vain doctrine, shall be able by the truth to vanquish and refute it, and so spread the wonder working truth abroad",[60] He gives to his followers directions concerning the testing of any claims to the truth or validity of any doctrines or practices: " A brother may say thus :

58. This is , in fact , only roughly the case , much in one might be equally well in either of the others.

59, 60. *The Book of the Great Decease.* SBE. XI. 1882 p. 151, 43.

'From the mouth of the Blessed One himself have I heard, from his own mouth have I received it. This is the truth, this the law, this the teaching of the master.' The word spoken brethren by that brother should neither be received with praise nor treated with scorn. Without praise and without scorn every word and syllable should be carefully understood and then put beside the scripture and compared with the rules of the Order".[61] If it is in harmony with these two, the saying is to be accepted as from the Blessed One, otherwise it is to be rejected. Whether there was anything actually written at the time of Gautama, to correspond with what is here called "scripture" and "rules of the Order", even whether this passage is itself an interpolation can hardly be decided with certainty. Some definite formulas must have been transmitted from those who, constantly in his company, had heard his frequent statement of fundamentals, and his typical illustrations. To these the Buddha is reported to have himself referred before his death: "It may be Ananda, that in some of you the thought may arise: The word of the Master is ended, we have no teacher more. But it is not thus Ananda that you should regard it. The truths and the rules of the Order which I have set forth and laid down for you all, let them, after I am gone, be your teacher".[62]

In the earliest Buddhism Gautama is just an ordinary man who after considerable effort attained what seemed to him enlightenment. He is represented as debating with himself as to whether he will teach it to men. Later, however, he is depicted as though with miraculous birth he came especially to earth as a guide to erring mortals. The Blessed One himself is represented as having said:[63] "Know Vasetta that from time to time a Tathagatha is born into the world, a fully enlightened one,* blessed and worthy, abounding in

61. *ibid* SBE. XI. p. 67. 62. SBE. XI. 112.

* Note the difference from the account of Gautama's years of search for enlightenment. 63. *Tevigga Sutta*; SBE. XI. 186-7.

wisdom and goodness, unsurpassed as a guide to erring mortals, a teacher of gods and men, a Blessed Buddha. He, by himself thoroughly understands and sees as it were face to face this universe – the world below with all its spirits and the worlds above, of Mara and of Brahma, and all creatures, Samanas and Brahmans, gods and men, and he then makes his knowledge known to others. The truth doth he proclaim both in its letter and its spirit, lovely in its origin, lovely in its progress, lovely in its consummation, the higher life doth he make known in all its purity and in all its perfection".64

---

64. The history of the growth of the different attitudes of the various Buddhist sects to the question as to what constitutes the authoritative canon of scripture is of great interest, but no one has yet dealt with the whole subject. Not only the canons of the two main divisions of the Hinayana school, but also the various editions, especially those of the Mahayana school, such as the Tibetan and the Chinese, contain differences Books became absorbed into the canon partly through historical error, owing to the fact that later writers assumed a mode of writing similar to the known traditional texts, or because political or other influences led to their inclusion. Most Western writers have all too frequently limited themselves to the Pali literature of Buddhism, barely referring to the Sanskrit texts and the later Chinese and Tibetan canons. See T. W. Rhys Davids : *Buddhism; its History and Literature.* 1896. R. Mitra has references to Sanskrit texts in *Buddhist Literature of Nepal* Calcutta 1882 and S. Beal's *Buddhist Literature in China* 1882 and *Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese* 1871 are useful though said to be not always accurate. English translations are: SBE: X. XI. XIII. XVII. XX. XXI. XXV. XXVI. XLIX. C. A. & T. W. Rhys Davids: *Dialogues of the Buddha* 1906. D. M. Strong: *Udana* 1902; Cowell, Rouse and others: *The Jatakas* 1895–1909. J. H. More : *Iti Vuttaka* New York, 1908 Mrs. Rhys Davids : *Psalms of the Early Buddhists* I. II.; also with Shwe Zan Aung: *Points of Controversy* (from *Katha-Vatthu*) and *Compendium of Philosophy.* K. J. Saunders *The Dhammapada* in Wisdom of the East Series. H. C. Warren's *Buddhism in Translations* is an excellent selection of typical passages. 6th impression 1915. See also. T. Suzuki: *The Awakening of Faith.* T. Richard: *The Guide to Buddhahood.* Shanghai 1907, and *The New Testament of Higher Buddhism.* Edinburgh 1910.

The sacred literature of the Jains is supposed by the Jains to contain the teachings of Mahavira and some of his disciples. As Mahavira is believed to have attained *kevala jnana* or omniscience, these books are accorded very great authority and respect. No external form of sanction seems to have been developed with regard to these works, but each individual is expected to come to the appreciation of the truth by careful study, generally under the instruction of the monks or nuns of the different orders. They consist of statements of the rules of conduct for the ascetics, of the requirements from the householder, of metaphysical treatises, and accounts of the lives and teaching of the saints and teachers.[65]

The ancient Hebrews and their successors the Jews have from very early times regarded themselves as in possession of a special revelation from God. It is immaterial to decide when any parts were first committed to writing, but it is clear that from the time of the solemn reading of the Law by Ezra, after the return from exile, it was reverenced as the " one source of religious knowledge, the perfect embodiment of the will of God and a binding rule of daily life ".[66] It was not till long afterwards that agreement was reached and the canon of scripture more or less definitely fixed. Probably a Council held at Jamnia in about A. D. 90 had much to do with making the final decisions. Josephus,

65. Jain literature is known but little to non-Jain scholars, but it appears as though very much of value awaits here closer investigation. For an account of the literature see A. Guerinot: *Essai de Bibliographie Jaina*. 1906. also J. L. Jaini : *Outlines of Jainism*. Cambridge 1906. pp. 134–146, where the literature is somehow associated with the total number of combinations of the sixty-four letters of the alphabet. P. C. Nahar and K. Ghosh : *An Epitome of Jainism*. Calcutta 1917. pp. 690–698. Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson. *The Heart of Jainism* 1915. pp. 11–13f. 16. Also SBE. vol. XXII, XLV. A series of *Sacred Books of the Jainas* is begun by the Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah. The first volume *Dravya Samgraha* (with translation and notes) is an instructive metaphysical and ethical work.

66. R. L. Ottley : *The Religion of Israel*. Cambridge 1905 p. 182.

writing at about the same time, suggests the basis upon which these decisions were made. Nothing was to be accepted later than Artaxerxes, because then " the exact succession of the prophets ceased ".[67] Those who decided which books are canonical were "inspired".[68]

The sacred books contain not merely the history and religious hymns of a " peculiar people " especially raised up by God, but more essentially His revelations through Moses and the prophets. The Torah, – the revelation supposed to have been given to Moses – is central. The supreme position accorded to it may be seen from the saying of Rabbi Jose, the son of Kisma: " Five possessions the Holy One, blessed is He, possessed in His world, and these are they: The Torah, heaven and earth, Abraham, Israel, and the house of the sanctuary ". " Torah, whence? because it is written, The Lord possessed me in the beginning of His way before His works of old ".[69] The Law " is a tree of life to them that grasp it, and of them that uphold it, everyone is rendered happy. Its ways are ways of pleasantness, and all its paths are peace". Further, "The Law of the Lord is perfect, restoring the soul : the testimony of the Lord is faithful, making wise the simple".[70] As perfect, it is complete and immutable. "God, the Immutable, gave us an immutable Law ".[71] That is one main reason why the Jews rejected the claims of Christianity and of Islam.

The attitude of orthodox Judaism is best summed up in the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth, of the thirteen principles of the Jewish faith formulated by Maimonides.

67. See H Graetz : *History of the Jews.* vol. II, 328–332,

68. M. Friedlander : *Textbook of the Jewish Religion*, 9th. ed. 1915 p.44.n

69. C. Taylor : *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers.* Cambridge 1877. p. 118 also *Proverbs VIII 22.*

70. S. Singer : *Authorised Daily Prayer Book of the United Congregation of the British Empire.* London, 6th ed, 1900 p. 69, 67. These passages are said after and before reading the Law.

71. Friedlander, p. 46.

" I firmly believe that all the words of the prophets are true ". " I firmly believe that the prophecy of our teacher Moses was a prophecy in the truest sense of the word, and that he was the chief of the prophets, both of those before him and those after him ". " I firmly believe that the Torah, at present in our hand, is the same that was given to our teacher Moses, peace be with him ". And " I firmly believe that this Law will not be changed, and that no other Law will be revealed by the Creator, blessed be His Name."[72] The revelation by Moses is for all generations, and this because God spoke " mouth to mouth " with Moses, and " not in dark speeches ".[73] " There hath not arisen a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face ".[74]

Christianity, originating amongst the Jews, as ostensibly a development of Judaism, accepts the Hebrew sacred writings as included in the Old Testament.[75] These, however, were treated with greater freedom by Jesus and the early disciples than by the orthodox rabbis. The additional books contained in the New Testament were gradually decided upon, the selection being determined "by the *sensus fidelium*, by the general feeling of believers rather than by any definite act. "[76] " The early Christian idea was rather of inspired men than of an inspired book ". But " the transition is an easy one, as the writings of inspired men would also be inspired ". An examination of some of the writings themselves suggests that the authors had little notion of this inspiration. St. Luke, simply states that "it seemed good to him," having traced the

72. See Friedlander pp. 43–46. For Maimonides' own discussion on revelation see " *The Guide to the Perplexed* ". trs. by M. Friedlander 2nd ed. 1910. 73. *Numbers* xii. 8. 74. *Deuteronomy* xxxiv. 10.

75. The literature on the subject of the nature and authority of Christian Scriptures is vast. References may usually be found to it in any good Bible dictionary or book on the history of Christian doctrine.

76. J. F. Bethune Baker : *An Introduction to the Early History of Christian Doctrine*. 1903, p. 42. 44.

course of all things accurately, " to write in order " the things which many had previously related.77 This appears to be also the character of the other synoptic gospels: they are an account of the life, teachings, and death of Jesus. The fourth gospel, however, from the outset represents Jesus as the true light, as the divine Logos, "the word become flesh". "No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared Him".78 Hence the writing is a representation of this divine revelation and incarnation. *The Acts of the Apostles* makes no claim to be more than a mere record of the doings of the early church. *The Catholic* and *Pauline Epistles* are simply the utterances of leading minds of early Christian days. *The Revelation of St. John* appears nothing really different from much of a profuse extent of apocalyptical literature prevalent at that time.

Though the early Councils did not define in what sense the writings are " inspired ", Tertullian describes the scriptures as the " letters " and " words " of God. Irenaeus supposes that the Holy Spirit guided the writers so that they could make no mistakes and use no misleading words.79 We shall not follow the history of the theory of verbal inspiration, but it is interesting to note that Dr. Burgon, preaching before one of the older English Universities so recently as 1861 could say : " Every book of it (i. e. the Bible), every chapter of it, every syllable of it, (where shall we stop ?) every letter of it, is the direct utterance of the Most High, faultless, unerring, supreme".80 Even where this conception is not held the authority of the scriptures is still maintained. Holy Scripture, says a Roman Catholic writer " is the Word of God, the source of all theology, the necessary basis of preaching and Christian teaching ".81 The Articles of Religion agreed upon by Convocation for

77. St. *Luke* I. 18. 78. *St. John* I. 1–4.

79. J. F. Bethune Baker : *ibid*. p. 46.

80. Quoted by J. E. Carpenter: *Liberal Theology in England*.1910 p.2.

81. Canon Hughes de Ragnau ; *The Vatican*. 1914 p. 402.

the English Church in 1562 and still authoritative, declare : " vi. Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation ", and this is followed in Art. vii by a list of the books constituting Holy Scripture. Those of the New Testament are expressly stated to be those which " are commonly received ". The Council of Trent – held at different times between 1545 and 1563 – declared its acceptance "with an equal feeling of piety and reverence of all the books of the Old and New Testaments".

The Quran[82] claims within itself be to a " sign " sent by God, a " reminder, " " a light, " " a guidance, " and " a warning," the " spirit " as well as the " giver of glad tidings." It is " a mercy " from God, " a revelation from the Lord of worlds." " For every period there is a book," but the Quran maintains that it is the confirmation and completion of all that have gone before. So also it is perfect : " Verily it is certain truth." " There is no crookedness therein." God is the source of the Quran and He guards it. He has promised to keep it from any addition, omission, alteration, and interpolation.[83] To the Muslim, therefore, the Quran is *Kalam Allah*,—the word of God. In later ages discussion arose as to whether the Quran was created or eternal. In any case it has always been held to have been revealed to men through the Prophet Mohammed.[84]

82. The term *Quran* is literally " collections, " cf. Tabari : vol. xxix p. 102 ; Kabir : vol. i. p. 183. Imam Raqhib said ; " It is called Quran because it sums up the teachings of the scriptures." *Vide* Ittikan. Calcutta ed. p.1 19 It also means " what is or should be read" ; " recitation " or " reading"; see Sura lxxv. 17, 18. also T. W. Lane : *Arabic English Lexicon* 1885.

83. *Quran* : iii 104, v 18, vi 19, 114, vii 1, x 1, 56, xi 1, xiv 2. xvi 91; 104; xxxii. 1, 2, xxxvi. 2. 3. 4, xxi 50, xxiv. 1, xxvi. 1, 4 xxvii, 6, xxviii. 86. xxix. 46, 37, 50. 51. xliv. 1, 2. xlvii. 6 li. 55, xxiv. 33, 34, 45, xxxii, 15. 31, xxxvi. 11 69, 70, xli. 2, 40, 41, 43, 44, 52, 53, xxvii 85, 86, xvii 9. xx. 99, 100, xxvii. 79, xxviii. 1, xxxv. 28, xlvi. 9, 11. iv 84. x 38, xii 111, vi 93, xiii 38, vi 104, xv 9. 90,

84. The beginning and the manner of the revelation are described in the Traditions. At the age of forty Mohammed began to spend his

The climax of the theory of revelation of religious truth in a divine book is reached in Islam. In the latest English translation of the Quran, it is maintained : [85] 1. That the whole was written down in the lifetime of the Holy Prophet by his own direction; 2. That the whole was committed to memory by the followers of the Prophet in his lifetime; 3. That the arrangement of the verses in each chapter and of the chapters themselves was effected in the lifetime and under the direction of the Prophet; 4. That the collection under the orders of Abu Bakr was no more than a collection of the different writings in one volume, in accordance with the arrangement observed by the Prophet. 5. That the differences of the readings do not affect any important alteration in the meanings of the text.

---

time in meditation in a cave on Mt. Hira. An angel came to him and asked him to read, clasping him so severely as to over-power him. After the third time he read the Sura called *Iqra*. Bukhari. Egyptian ed. p. 3-4. Three years later the revelations began again. Muslim and Bukhari, on the authority of Jabir, relate that the Prophet described this : " I was meditating on Mt. Hira for a month and at the end I came down the valley and heard someone calling me. When I looked around I saw no one. Again I heard the same call, but again I saw no one. But when the call came a third time I looked up into the sky and found the angel Gabriel sitting on a throne in the air. Then I began to tremble very much and came to Khadija (the Prophet's wife) and asked her to cover me with some clothes. Thereupon she did so, and sprinkled water on me. Then God revealed to me the Sura *Almudathithir*." Vide : *Mashriqulanwar* by Hasan Saghani. Lucknow. p. 350. Bukhari and Muslim also relate on the authority of Ayesha that the Prophet, asked by Harith ibn Hisham to explain how the revelation came, replied : " Sometimes it comes as the ringing of a bell which is very near to me, and stops after I have learned the words by heart ; and sometimes the angel assumes the form of a man and speaks to me and I remember it by heart." Bukhari also gives the statement of Ayesha that the face of the Prophet became flushed and hot at the time of the revelations, even in the biting cold. cf. Mashriqulanwar. By Hasan Saghani, Lucknow p. 395. Bukhari, *Sahih*, Egyptian Ed. pp. 3.

85, 86. *The Holy Quran*. Woking. 1917 p. xxix. p. xcii.

The chief reason for insistence on matters such as these is the desire to feel assured of security and finality in religious beliefs, to possess what has been called an "impregnable rock of Holy Scripture". "We know that not only has no other scripture ever advanced the claim of being a perfect and final revelation of the Divine will, as the Quran has done, but further, that every religious scripture revealed before the Holy Quran has undergone alterations in the course of time, and the Holy Quran is therefore the only Book that can be a true guide for an ever-advancing humanity."[86]

Although there is no elaborate theory of book revelation amongst the Sikhs, such as that for the Quran, amongst no religious devotees is the sacred book more reverenced than the *Granth Saheb*. The Granth Saheb is to the Sikhs virtually the embodiment of their ten *gurus*, who are considered to be as only one person, "the light of the first guru's soul having been transmitted to each of his successors."[87] The tenth and last guru, Gobind Singh, ordered the Sikhs to treat the Granth Saheb as the living gurus. It is thus kept in silken coverlets, and removed from place to place on a small couch. Before the Sikhs open the book to read they recite: "prostrations and obeisance many times to Thee. O God, who possessest all contrivances and art omnipotent! Reach me Thy hand, O God, saith Nanak, and save me from wavering."[88] The Granth Saheb is a compilation which gradually grew up from the compositions of the different gurus. There have been in this process of growth two or three recensions, the largest being compiled by Bhai Mani Singh after the death of the tenth guru. The contents are chiefly hymns, but there are also mythological and other tales and maxims from the Puranas. The Guru Arjan one of the first to collect the existing material together adapted a Panjabi alphabet, Gurumukhi, for the purpose,

87. M. A. Macauliffe: *The Sikh Religion: Its Gurus, Sacred Writings, and Authors*. Oxford. 1909. Vol. I. xvi. 88. III 183.

maintaining that the compositions of Guru Nanak were worthy of a special character of their own.[89] Ordered by the Emperor Jehangir, to erase certain hymns, the Guru replied : " I cannot erase or alter an iota. I am a worshipper of the Immortal God, the Supreme soul of the world. There is no monarch save Him, and what He revealed to the gurus, from Guru Nanak to Guru Ramdas, and afterwards to myself, is written in the holy Granth Saheb. It is certainly stated that prophets, priests, and incarnations are the handiwork of the Immortal God, whose limit none can find. My main object is the spread of truth and the destruction of falsehood, and if, in pursuance of this object, this perishable body must depart, I shall account it great good fortune".[90] Gurdwaras or " temples " are built for the reception of copies of the Granth Saheb. According to Macauliffe, whose book is approved amongst the Sikhs " the people admitted that God was speaking through Nanak's mouth "[91] One day the first guru " disappeared into the forest and was taken in a vision to God's presence, who said to him : I am with thee." " O Nanak, to him upon whom My look of kindness resteth be thou merciful. My name is God, the Primal Brahm, and thou art the divine guru."[92] Divine knowledge is obtained through the guru, but though the true guru may instruct, ' the story of the ineffable is in the heart." And to one who greeted him " The first name is that of God, the second that of the Prophet (i. e. Mohammed) Nanak replied : The first name is that of God ; How many prophets are at His gate ! "[93]

---

89. Some of these hymns are ancient or mediaeval hymns come down from Indian saints "taken down by Guru Arjan from the lips of wandering minstrels or disciples of the saints." I. p. xxv. " The Gurus appear to have been of the opinion that God sends a divine guide whenever required by the condition of the age or country." I. p. xli.

90. Macauliffe, Vol. III 91–92.

91. Vol. I. 41. 92. I. 34. 93. I. 35.

The Sikh Golden Temple, Amritsar

The Development of Religious Knowledge

An examination of sacred scriptures suggests that they are collections of early stories, hymns, prayers, cosmological ideas, prophetic exhortations, moral precepts, the lives of saints, directions for the performance of rites and ceremonies, together often with historical narratives relating particularly to the peoples amongst whom the scriptures have arisen. The Quran has the appearance of a single book, but a survey of its suras and verses in the light of modern scholarship reveals that it also is " collections," in a sense the orthodox adherent hardly conceives. The process by which specific writings came to be definitely accepted as " canonical " or authoritative was in no religion simple and straight-forward. Divisions have arisen in the religions from differences with regard to the canonicity of certain books. Nearly all the theories concerning the authority of the writings and their sources have been evolved much later than the original elements constituting the main portions of the compositions. The motives of these theories, were chiefly two. i. The desire for unity among the adherents, supposed to be best attained by uniformity of belief and practice, certain traditional compositions being accepted as the basis of this uniformity. ii. The need was felt for certainty and finality in beliefs as a ground of freedom from the anxiety of doubt, and so also as a basis of peace and calm, even if not of positive satisfaction and joy.

The priesthood has undoubtedly grown up as a distinct class more especially in relation with the performance of religious rites than with the advance of religious truth. Priests have acted as systematisers and teachers of religious knowledge obtained chiefly through the inspiration of prophets and saints, and the reflections of the philosophers. But the actual compilation of the books, the decision what books should be regarded as authoritative, their preservation and their interpretation, have by a natural course of

events been tasks of the priests. Frequently they alone have had copies of the writings, and not seldom they alone had the training necessary for reading them. It could hardly be expected that in transmission such writings would be left unmodified in their contents. The gathering of the material together has left room for choice, and editing and transcribing have given opportunities of omission, interpolation, and addition, to the advantage of the priestly class. The systematisation of the Hindu scriptures, the *S'ruti*, is clearly the work of Brahmins. The *Manu-s'mriti* shows even more forcefully the influence of the priests. The greater portion of the Zoroastrian scriptures, particularly the later Avesta and the Dinkard, was the compilation of priests. The *Vendidad*, again a priestly code, shows this most clearly. Similarly in the Hebrew scriptures: the *Torah*, including essentially a priestly code, is accorded a far more prominent position than the writings representing the work of the prophets; an emphasis due partly to the publication of the Law by Ezra, a priest. The manner by which priests have acquired their positions,[94] by membership of certain priestly tribes or families, or by ordination to the

94. The Hindu priestly caste is hereditary, claiming to be sprung from the head of Brahma. The offices of dastur (high priest) and mobed among Zoroastrians also pass by hereditary right in certain families. The "priests and levites," of the Jews consider themselves a particular branch of the people chosen by Moses, ostensibly according to the will of Jehovah. In relation to Buddhist laymen the monks occupy a position similar to that of priests: they are admitted to the Order after training and a novitiate showing their fitness. Some branches of the Christian Church maintain a doctrine of Apostolic succession, according to which only those are truly priests who have received ordination in a specific manner from others who have similarly received their authority in succession from the Apostles, especially Peter. The religion of Islam has no definite order of religious ministry. The Imam or leader of prayer may be any one of the Muslim congregation. In all places where there is a Muslim population there will be found one or more Moulvis, and these expound the doctrines of the religion. On questions of dispute the Moulvis of

office on the acceptance of the traditional doctrines of those already in office, has been a factor determining the mode of presentation of religious knowledge. Almost as important has been the character of their daily functions, which have cultivated a formalism in religion generally, and a more or less lifeless enunciation and repetition of doctrines. In all ages and climes there have been revolts against such formalism. Gautama turned from the unsatisfying teachings and practices of the ordinary Brahmin priests of his time. The movement of Jainism, however far it may go back, appears from the absence from its scriptures of any marked reverence for the Brahmanical caste, as probably also a reaction against a predominantly priestly religion. The Hindu saints like Chaitanya, Tulsi Das, Tukaram, Kabir, and Nanak felt and strove to spread a spiritual as distinct from a formal recognition of religious truths. Little evidence of any such movements is recorded for the history of Zoroastrianism. Christianity arose largely out of the revolt of Jesus 95 from the legalism and mere traditionalism of the Scribes and Pharisees amongst the Jews. Throughout the history of Christianity, time after time, sometimes in extreme forms such as those of Montanism and the early Ana-Baptists, sometimes more restrainedly as with some of the Protestant reformers, and most especially perhaps in George Fox, the "Inward Light" and "the liberty of prophesying," that is, the right to teach on a basis of free individual religious experience has been maintained.

---

a suitable area may issue a *Fatwa* giving their considered opinion on the matter. In spirit Jainism, Buddhism, Protestant Christianity and Islam are opposed to any form of sacerdotal claims. Ultimately for them " Priesthood is the birthright of every man " as is emphatically contended by the Quakers. E Grubb: *What is Quakerism ?* 1917 p. 64 It is important to note that the three great missionary religions, Buddhism, Christianity, and Islam have depended not on hereditary descent but on a moral and religious feeling of vocation for the supply of their priests or leaders.

95. See e. g. *Mark* II. 15-18; 23-28; III. 1, 2; VII. 1-23.

Even for the adherents of any one religion the possession of sacred scriptures has never yet settled the question of religious truth. The further problem of interpretation, as conditions of language and culture have changed, has always led to marked differences of beliefs, and sometimes to very diverse views concerning the nature and source of religious truth. In the histories of all the great religions certain types of interpretation are to be found. These are not, as a rule, found in isolation; two or more are usually present, but the predominant emphasis is on one. The chief methods may be stated as follows, but it will be seen that they over-lap and form in no sense a logical division:

i. The Traditional and Dogmatic.

ii. The Literal.

iii. The Rationalistic and Philosophical.

iv. The Mystical.

v. The Allegorical and Symbolical.

vi. The Kabbalistic and Theosophical.

vii. The Historical and Psychological in the sense of modern scholarship.

The character of these different methods can only be briefly indicated here.

The *dogmatic* interpretation is the mode of exposition common among priests or the chief leaders of the religious community. Besides the accepted canon of scriptures the priests claim to possess a living tradition handed down from their predecessors in the sacred office. In the course of time some such traditions have been themselves committed to writing. But these again depend for their interpretation on the official body of the religious community. From this point of view the scriptures are to be interpreted by the priests in accordance with a more or less rigid body of

doctrine. Fundamental, if not complete, acceptance of this doctrine is required from those permitted to teach officially in the religious community. The body of doctrine has frequently been formulated in an official confession of faith or creed : henceforth all officially recognised interpretation must conform to the creed.[96] The sacred scriptures are not the *basis* of the religious life, but a form of its expression having a distinct place in the organisation of the community and to be accepted as interpreted by the community in which they have grown up.[97]

---

96. Official creeds have been adopted usually by organised priesthoods. There is little evidence of creeds amongst Hindus, Jains, and Sikhs. The only really binding form of creed amongst Buddhists is: " I take refuge with Dharma, I take refuge with Buddha; I take refuge with the Sangha "; amongst Zoroastrians : " I am a worshipper of Mazda : I am a Zoroastrian worshipper of Mazda "; amongst Muslims : " There is no God but God: and Mohammed is his prophet". There have been other Muslim creeds; see D. B. Macdonald: *The Development of Muslim Theology*. 1903 pp. 293–315, Christians have been most profuse in the production of confessions of faith. The most wide-spread are the socalled " Apostles " " Creed ; the Nicene, and the Athanasian Creeds. The sixteenth century with the development of Protestant dogmatism saw the compilation of The Articles of Marburg : The Confession of Ausburg : The Articles of Schmalkald: The Wittenburg Concord: The Westminster Confession : The Thirty-nine Articles. Although the Quakers oppose creeds on principle, they seem to require acceptance of some Christian fundamentals.

97. E. g. the Christian Church " is the keeper and guardian of the scriptures, the traditions, the discipline, the faith, and therefore it is the Church and the Church alone which can determine the truth ". J. F. Bethune Baker : *History of Christian Doctrine* p. 58. modified. The Council of Trent declared its adherence to the " unwritten tradition " relating to faith and morals " as having either from the word of Christ himself, or the dictation of the Holy Ghost been preserved by continuous succession in the Catholic Church ". Expressed in the famous dictum, Christian truth is " that which hath been believed, *everywhere*, *always*, and by *all men* " " within the Catholic Church ". *Vincentius Lirinensis for the Antiquity and Universality of the Catholic Faith*, Latin and Eng. 1899. p. 9.

The Buddhist novice seeks refuge in the three jewels : the Doctrine; the Buddha; and the Order. But he must have previously accepted the doctrine in its elements from the existing members of the Order, and it is as these are expounded by the Order that he passes to a fuller knowledge. Similarly, the Jain Tirthankaras, having attained omniscience, have passed on their knowledge through the Order, the channel by which the full and real significance of the enlightening knowledge may be learned. Jewish Rabbis built up a whole system of interpretation on the basis of the Oral law, and regarded it as the only really orthodox. 98 The Christian Church in most of its branches has manifested a similar dogmatism. The difference of attitude between the Catholic and the Protestant Churches is often supposed to be that the former regards the Bible as one of the gifts of the Spirit to the early Church which is therefore the one true interpreter, and that the latter maintains that the interpretation is left to the individual. Yet a glance at the history of the various sects of Protestantism reveals that within a very short time the exigencies of the life of the religious community showed the need of some recognised form of interpretation. To supply this need many confessions of faith were formulated, and made a basis for dogmatic interpretation of the scriptures. 99 The development of Islam reveals similar phases. The interpretation of the Quran has been guided by the consideration of the traditions and the customs of the Prophet as described in accounts which the early leaders of the faith admitted, more particularly those of Muslim and Bukhari. Further, the prophet Mohammed is supposed to have said : " My followers will never agree in an error ", and thus to have established *consensus*, as the method of deciding interpretation. 100

98. On Jewish and Christian interpretation see F. W. Farrar : *History of Interpretation*. 1886.

99. See note 96, also Farrar : Lecture VII.

100. I. Goldzieher: *Vorlesungen uber den Islam*. Heidelberg 1910 p.54.

These traditionalists, having been most closely connected with the originators of the writings, have been the chief advocates of *literal* interpretation : the plain meaning of the words as they stand in the text. Yet it has almost invariably happened, as might be supposed, that dogmatists have read into the text their own meaning. Those who have opposed the dogmatism of the established priesthood, have claimed to do so on behalf of a more direct literal interpretation. So, for example, Luther contended : " The literal sense of scripture alone is the whole essence of faith and Christian Theology ". The literal sense of the Quran is championed by orthodox Muslims. The same attitude has been assumed by Hindus, Parsis, and Buddhists. The extreme form of the " worship of the letter " has come with belief in verbal inspiration, when it has been maintained that every word is a " word of God ", and has a necessary significance.

The presence of sacred scriptures handed down from the past has not been able to prevent the independent activity of human reason. At times the Scriptural teachings have seemed to conflict ; sometimes they have appeared in opposition to the reflections of reason. Out of the independent effort of thought, and the desire to bring "reason and revelation", into harmony, or to present revelation itself as consistent, the *rationalistic* and *philosophical* method of interpretation has arisen. Another important factor leading to the adoption of this method has been the need felt by the chief representatives, generally the priests, to defend the doctrines and practices of their religion against the attacks of sceptical outsiders. The method has thus become associated with traditional dogmatism which under the stress of the innate demands of reason, the forces of the environment and the requirements for growth, has had to modify the liberal interpretation in order to assume a rationalistic and philosophical form. The best term for this is Scholasticism. It concerns itself with systematic statements, logical deductions, and the definition of subtle distinctions, a sort

of philosophising on the basis of an already accepted body of doctrine. Such a condition of religious knowledge has arisen only when the organisation of the priesthood has become more or less fixed, and when the priesthood has been stimulated, frequently from outside, by distinctly philosophical tendencies. Rationalistic and philosophical interpretations have frequently been adopted also by individual members of the religious communities, leading sometimes to heresy and to separation from the main body of believers. In so far as they accept the Scriptures as authoritature they do not represent a different attitude from that previously mentioned. In such individuals rationalistic reflection has greater freedom than with the Scholastics.

Already in the Upanishads more than a beginning of rationalistic and philosophical interpretation is to be found, in fact, a beginning is made in the Vedas themselves.[101] The literature of Jainism so far made accessible is predominantly of this character, occupied with an intricate analysis of the soul and its states and with the definition of terms having subtle differences of meaning.[102] In agreement with the re-iterated agnosticism of early Buddhism as represented in the Pali Canon, there is little rationalistic reflection in the Abhidharma, but the information concerning the Sanskrit texts, as suggested also by the extant Chinese Canon, gives ground for maintaining a Scholastic period amongst the Buddhists, especially of the Mahayana School.[103]

101. See e. g. *Rig Veda X.* 82, and 129 where the question is raised: "Who verily knows and who can here declare it, whence it was born and whence comes this creation ?". The Upanishads are not so much themselves Scholastic, as that they are generally treated Scholastically.

102. See books referred to p. 67 n. for examples of definitions of terms, enumerations of categories, classifications of states of the soul, etc.

103. S, Beal : *Catena* Pt. III 274–370. The Hinayana is regarded as transcended by two later periods in which the doctrines of a universal void and a universally existing essence became the leading feature of a Buddhist Scholasticism. Most of the Mss mentioned by Mitra: *Nepalese Buddhist Literature* are ethical and mystical. But see, pp. 177–87. Further, E. Burnouf: *Intro. a l' histoire du Buddhisme indien.* 1876. *IV.*

The development of Scholasticism amongst the Jews, the Christians, and the Muslims was occasioned chiefly by the study of Greek philosophy.[104] In their beginnings Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Scholasticism were efforts to harmonize the teachings of the respective sacred scriptures with the philosophy of Aristotle. For the orthodox Jews the position elaborated by Maimonides has remained in power until today. To very much the same extent the philosophy of Thomas Aquinas has continued to be the official attitude in the theology of the Roman Catholic Church. Muslim moulvis are still adherents of the position inaugurated on the Scholastic side by al Aschari or al Maturidi but widened and developed chiefly by al Ghazzali. With the formation of the various confessions of faith already referred to a form of Protestant rationalism and scholasticism grew up under the influence of the Liebniz-Wolfian philosophy of the eighteenth century. But in all these religions a freer form of philosophical interpretation has asserted itself time after

104. In its application to Christianity it is frequently supposed that the term Scholasticism represents simply a particular pre-Reformation system of philosophy. In this sense it began with Anselm's (d. 1109) attempt to "raise the truths of faith to scientific certainty," "to fuse faith and reason." Farrar says: "The sentences of Peter Lombard (d. 1164) became the text-book of Scholasticism. They marked out its mission, which was not to discover, but to formulate," p. 262. It reached its most authoritative and complete expression in the work of Aquinas (d. 1274). But though this Scholasticism, like its modern revival of Neo-Scholasticism with its home chiefly at Louvain, includes considerations of all the philosophical disciplines, it is rather as an attitude towards interpretation that it is of importance here. See M. Wulf: *History of Mediaeval Philosophy* 1909; Cardinal Mercier: *A Manual of Modern Scholastic Philosophy*. Eng. trs. 1916; and M. Wulf: *Scholasticism Old and New*. 1907. Some of the *Summa Theologica* is published by Washbourne, London.

The great Jewish scholastic Maimonides strove, (especially in the *Guide*), to show that religious knowledge came through philosophy and through inspired prophets, particularly the Hebrew prophets, as represented in the Hebrew scriptures. He maintained that their utterances must be interpreted in harmony with reason. See the paper by J. ur Rehman: "Maimonides and the Attainment of Religious

time. Amongst the Jews, Spinoza championed a less formal attitude, but his pantheistic tendencies and his view concerning the position of Jesus in the history of religious development, led to his excommunication, and checked his influence. In Moses Mendelsohn the freer spirit again asserted itself in the declaration that Judaism is not a doctrinal system, that is, in the scholastic sense. From the beginning of the nineteenth century in the Protestant Churches, partly due to movements like the Wesleyan revival, German classical idealism, and the Oxford movement in its early character, some gleams of a freer attitude have been evident. Amongst Roman Catholics the Modernist movement of Loisy, Tyrrel and others (now virtually suppressed as far as externals are concerned) strove to break away from Scholasticism. The more rationalistic tendencies of the Mutazilites asserted themselves occasionally in Islam but not with wide influence in view of the reconciliation which al Ghazzali achieved between orthodoxy, rationalism and mysticism. The right of the individual to interpret the Quran for himself has sometimes been maintained in recent times, but though this may inwardly lead to more freedom, the orthodox resist open advocacy of divergent views.

From the rationalistic and philosophical the *mystical* form of interpretation has arisen, sometimes as a result of the philosophical tendency, sometimes as a reaction against Scholasticism in favour of less formalism. In the former case the mystical interpretation is based on the supposed inevitable philosophical conclusion that the fundamental reality in

---

Knowledge " in *The Indian Philosophical Review* 1918 vol. ii. Muslim theologians, have always claimed that Islam is essentially in harmony with reason. On Muslim theological development see the excellent manual of D B. Macdonald : *The Development of Muslim Theology*. 1903, and I. Goldzieher: *Vorlesunger*. The Pahlavi period of Zoroastrian literature comes nearest to the scholastic attitude. It embarks upon a more systematic rationalistic discussion of God, the angels, evil, and the future of the human soul. See Dhalla : pp. 191–296. " The Pahlavi works explain, elaborate, and describe in detail " (194) and indicate a descent to "rigid formalism" and "dogmatic theology" (197).

man is identical with a universal reality, in other words that the soul is identical with the Absolute. All scriptures are then to be interpreted in accordance with this idea. Such an attitude predominates in the Hindu religious thought which is related to the monism of teachers like the great S'ankaracharya. But it seems as though, except among the most thorough-going of the sannyasis, the system of S'ankaracharya has developed into a type of Indian Scholasticism. Among the Buddhists also the same form of mysticism asserted itself, when after Nagarjuna a universal substance was believed in: "For, if the heart, the inner self be the same as the universal self, such a close connection, rather identity, necessitates the idea of most intimate communion of interests."[105] Throughout the history of Mahayana Buddhism such mysticism has flourished. The same conception underlies the Sufi mysticism of Islam. The assertion of the unity of the soul and God was supposed to be essential for the belief in the divine unity: "If any attribute prevents the seeker of God from annihilating himself in unification, he is still veiled by that attribute, and while he is veiled he is not a unitarian, for all except God is vanity. This is the interpretation of: There is no God but God".[106] Although there is no hint of mysticism in Parsi literature, the *Dabistan*, probably on the authority of the *Desatir*, speaks of Zoroastrian mystics and "When the mystic is bathed in devotion, he is so intoxicated with divine wisdom that he thinks himself one with the divine."[107]

105. S. Beal: *Catena*. p. 374. Mysticism as a type of religious ideal will be considered in a later chapter. Its tendency is to discount the value of sacred scriptures. This is so e. g. with the Zen sect of Japanese Buddhism. See Nukariya Kaiten. *The Religion of the Samurai*. 1913 where, though the universe is said to be the scripture of Zen, innermost wisdom is obtained when we are able to realise that each is identical with the universal life or Buddha. p. 134. The effort to attain such immediate religious knowledge is the characteristic of the religious aspects of Yoga.

106. *Kashf al-Mahjub* : The oldest Persian Treatise on Sufiism, Trs. by R. A. Nicholson 1911. p. 285. 107. M. N. Dhalla : chapter xlv,

With such a presupposition it is easy to understand that the method of attaining divine knowledge was considered to be the cultivation of that condition in which the unity of *Atman* and *Brahman*, of soul and God, was immediately felt. This gave a scope for a freedom of feelings, and a liberty over against the assertions of dogmatic theology. In this manner it was a reaction from scholastic formalism.

Allegorical and *symbolical* interpretations grew up partly in relation to such mysticism, as means to explain the actual texts of the sacred scriptures. They have also given scope for retaining scriptures and yet avoiding apparent contradictions and the literal acceptance of statements judged unworthy of the divine. By allegory the conceptions and narratives associated with traditional religions have been explained in a manner to escape the objections of advancing rationalism. The Stoics "not disposed to let the current beliefs quite fall through" largely adopted allegorical interpretations.[108] Julian and Sallustius in the fourth century A. D. made an attempt to save the old Greco-Roman religion by allegorical interpretation of its myths and rituals.[109] From the Stoics the method passed to the Jews and Christians, especially at Alexandria. " It culminated in Philo, and through Philo, it was transmitted to at least fifteen centuries of Christian exegetes". Clement of Alexandria and Origen more than any others introduced allegory into Christian exposition. The Sufis constantly used it. There is not much evidence of its use amongst Hindus till recent times except amongst philosophical persons wishing to explain the stories of the Puranas.

---

108. E. Zeller : *Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics.* 1892. ch. xiii.

109. G. Murray : *Four stages of Greek Religion.* iv. and appendix. This did not save the religion in the manner hoped, but it made it easier for Christianity to assimilate its truths. Clement " believing in the divine origin of Greek philosophy openly propounded the principle that all scripture must be allegorically understood. " Farrar 183. Allegory was largely used in Christian exposition. The Western Fathers " delighted in a system which still left them some semblance

At its best the allegorical method gave scope for insistence on spiritual and moral truths, to the discountenance of mere historical facts or legends. But it tended to artificiality and even to triviality. Further, a distinction was frequently drawn between the exoteric meaning, the plain understanding of the text by ordinary persons, and an esoteric or inner meaning only revealed to the initiated. Some illustrations of allegory will suffice to show its nature and how it has led to Kabbalism and Theosophy. The oldest extant treatise on Sufiism says " The Sufis have technical terms for the purpose of expressing the matter of their discourses and in order that they may reveal or disguise

---

of originality and freedom." Augustine is invaded by allegory. Aquinas recognised it as one of the four senses of Scripture. Erasmus, though he vacillates regarding allegory, says " without a mystic sense the Book of Kings would be no more profitable than Livy." But Luther maintained : " To allegorise is to juggle with Scripture." On Alexandrian allegorism see C. Bigg : *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*. 2nd ed. Oxford 1913. H. Graetz : *History*. II. 210-11. shows that Philo by this method " from one and the same sentence deduced two opposite conclusions." To meet the charges of Christian missionaries some Parsis resorted to allegorical explanation. Thus Ahriman was said to be " not an entity, but merely the symbolic personification of evil nature in man owing his origin to man's errant thoughts." So again the nine nights ceremony of purification (*Vendidad*) driving the demon of defilement from the top of the head to the tips of the toes and away, was interpreted as the gradual improvement of man's character. M. N. Dhalla: pp. 339 342. In Islam allegory, most prevalent amongst the Sufis, was also adopted especially by the Ismailias. This was in connection with their organisation of inner circles of devotees to whom the esoteric meanings were gradually revealed. Thus, the " wine " forbidden by the Prophet is " spiritual pride." All rites and obligations, such as prayer, alms, pilgrimage, fasting being symbolical might be abandoned. At the highest degree every vestige of dogmatic religion might be cast aside. E. G. Browne : *A Literary History of Persia*. 1902 I. 407-15. The treatment of dogmas as symbolical and of scriptural narratives as allegorical is frequently urged today in view of the critical consideration of the sacred scriptures according to methods of modern scholarship, amongst those who do not wish to break with traditional terminology.

their meaning as they please."[110] The same writer gives the following account of the pilgrimage. For a spiritual *i. e*,. a true pilgrimage, a man must stand on the Arafat of gnosis (*ma'rifat*) , and from there set out for the maxdalifa of amity (*ulfat*); from there send his heart to circumnambulate the temple of Divine purification (*tanzih*) and throw away the stones of passion and corrupt thoughts in the mina of faith ; sacrifice his lower soul on the altar of mortification and arrive at the station of friendship (*khullat*).

Clement believed that esoteric teaching was given by Jesus orally to Peter, James, and John after the resurrection. " The mention of divorce in Matthew xix leads Origen into a long digression about the marriage of the soul with its guardian angel". The story of Rebecca coming to the well and meeting Abraham's servants, is explained to mean that one must come daily to the wells of scripture to meet with Christ.[111]

The allegorical method easily passed into a strange occultism. Few illustrations are necessary : According to the *Kabbalistic* method amongst the Jews, every word represents a number and is thus cognate with every other of the same number. For example, there are less than thirty-six righteous in the world, because in Isaiah xxx. 18 "Blessed are all those that wait upon him," the value of the Hebrew word for "upon Him" is thirty-six.[112] An example of Theosophy may be seen in the contention that Zoroaster wrote in a mystic language, the surface meaning being for the vulgar, the esoteric or inner meaning only for the initiates. The high position accorded to the dog in Zoroastrian scriptures, (easily and naturally explained from the early pastoral conditions) is interpreted as a description of conscience and its workings. The rules for the isolation of a woman at certain periods are said to be based on an occult fact that the *aura* of such a woman is spiritually diseased.[113]

110. *Kashf al-Mahjub.* p. 367; p. 326.

111. Farrar : . 185 112 p. 200 113 Dhalls: p. 313.

From early times in most religions there have been only few who have recognised that the meaning of the sacred scriptures depends in part upon grammatical understanding of the language, some consideration of their historical origin and the historical relation of the different parts. In all but recent times the prevailing grammatical and philological ideas have been unscientific, and the "knowledge" of history chiefly knowledge of traditions, without any show of critical judgment. The attempt to find out, by such historical (including philological) methods, the meaning of the sacred texts themselves, is characteristically modern. The effort is greatly aided by the advances in the study of the human mind, psychology. For this has led to more careful consideration of the states of mind which the writers were trying to express. But this historical and psychological method is pursued with due attention to the important factors in the other methods.[114]

The modern attitude agrees with the dogmatic theory of interpretation in that it strives for truth not as set down in a book in the terms of a past age but as vital doctrine taught continuously by a living society. It is in accord with the literal interpretation in so far as it maintains that to know the teachings of the saints, philosophers and prophets as they understood them themselves it is necessary at least to find out the plain meanings of the terms they used. But for such literal interpretation it is now recognised that the utmost care of scientific study on philological and historico-comparative methods is necessary. The earlier

---

114 Distinct from this question of the exact meaning of the texts is that of the authenticity of the existing texts themselves. This textual criticism has made considerable advances chiefly amongst Christian scholars for whom it is a definitely recognised subject of study. For most other religions only a few isolated scholars have understood the importance attaching to the question if the sacred texts are to be treated as in any sense authoritative on account of a particular origin. The insolubility of so many textual problems must eventually divert the attention to the question of the values of the ideas and practices.

literal interpretation was far too often superficial and too frequently a means for reading into the scriptures the views of the individual exponent, or sect. The advanced religious thought of our day also acknowledges the important truth underlying much allegorical, symbolical and mystical intepretation, that the great prophets and saints of all ages have to express themselves through imperfect literary means, using the language of their own time to represent truths which later ages would express in a different manner. The value of a continuance of usage of the old forms of expression as symbols is acknowledged, though it is gradually becoming clear that they must be abandoned when better forms are available. There is also an affirmation even more explicit and emphatic than ever before, that there are mystical elements in religion defying language adequately to represent them, which must be individually experienced to be known and valued. The modern attitude champions free growth: liberal forms of the religions seek the most comprehensive and consistent religious life and truth.

No wide-spread religious community has yet adopted an absolutely free consideration of religious truth, without any arbitrary restrictions. In Christianity, Judaism, Zoroastrianism, and perhaps also in Japanese Buddhism, a good beginning in this direction has been made. The modern method insists on free unrestricted endeavour of the human mind to find out religious truth for itself, unbound by written or oral traditions of the past or by the dictates of any ecclesiastical or other authority. Religious truth is recognised as coming especially through religious experience of the present and the past. In the present it is learned through immediate contact of men with men, or indirectly through books. That from the past comes through the traditional doctrines, customs, and emotional atmosphere of the religious community and its organisation. The basis of all endeavour to understand this religious truth will be some introspection, some psychological examination of one's own religious experience. To this must be added a study

of the religious history of mankind, or at least some wide portion of it : otherwise the religious outlook must remain narrow. Each religion is coming to be regarded as a particular effort of certain sections of mankind to come to a knowledge of the divine and to the best relation with it. Each religion is to be understood on a background of the general history of religions. The idea of a revelation given once for all in one or more books is being abandoned for the conception of a progressive revelation. As a prominent representative of modern Liberal Judaism has expressed it " In spite of all the terrible difficulties we cling to the view that slowly, very slowly, God enlightens and reveals. God is the source of goodness and truth. Man, aided by God, finds truth. This truth is never complete. Man grows and part of his growth is his gradual, fuller apprehension of righteousness and of God. "[115]

A similar attitude has been striving for expression in the Christian Churches more definitely since the influence of Lessing and Hegel, Darwin and Spencer began to be felt among students of theology. It is seen in Cardinal Newman's " Doctrine of Development ", in the tendencies of the Paris School of Protestant Theology, in the Otto-Friesian-Bousset School of Göttingen, in Catholic Modernism, and in a multitude of works of individual scholars and preachers in the various Christian communities.[116]

115. C. G. Montefiore ; *The Meaning of Progressive Revelation.* 1914. p. 7 ; see also *Outline of Liberal Judaism.* 1912 III ; XIII.

116. All these schools have emphasised the progressive life of the spirit in the attainment of religious truth, and have also promoted the study of the history of religions as a wider whole of which, for them, Christianity is the highest achievement. The outstanding names of A. Reville, W. Bousset, and A. Loisy need alone be mentioned.

The Sources and Nature of Religious Truth

Modern thought is beginning to recognise more explicitly what in the religious life through the ages and the formation of the sacred scriptures has been implicitly implied, that religious truth is obtained through certain definite channels. Religious truth is seen to be concerned with the nature of God, the nature of the human soul, and its highest life in relation with God. The attainment of this truth involves the effort of man turned in this direction, and it implies the action of God as revealing or manifesting His own nature. The definite channels are twofold: i. through the world of external nature: ii. through the inner spiritual life of men.[117] Later chapters will show the changes in the course of development along these channels, from the earliest forms of nature-worship to the religious significance of modern science, from the primitive yearnings of the soul for help to the highest aspiration of the spirit for a comprehensive good in intimate communion with God. Thus all sincere effort for knowledge, all true knowledge, has some religious significance. Not the history of one people, not the religious literature of one people, but all should be the sources of religious truth. That truth is in essence such, that whatever its source, it arouses a response and produces some effect in the life of every genuine seeker. But not every part of the truth appeals to different men in the same manner, or with the same relative degree of emphasis. The diverse natures of the sacred scriptures show that to some a poetic and mystical imagery, to others contemplative reflection, to others moral earnestness, appeals most. The Comparative Study of Religions has to lead to the recognition of all these factors of religious truth to the ennobling and enriching of the religious life.

---

117. E. Caird : *Evolution of Religion.* I. 77. says man can look *outwards* upon the world around him, *inwards* upon the self within him, and *upwards* to the God above him.

Note on the relation of women to the development of Religious Knowledge :

It is a noteworthy fact that though women have been actively associated with the life of religion in the temples, and have probably in all ages and countries been more generally devoted to religious practices than men they have rarely had the position of official teachers or interpreters of the scriptures. At Delphi they seem to have played a part, real or feigned, of "mediums" through whom the gods spoke. At the time of the Upanishads in India women took a definite part in the discussions. Yet no very prominent part of any scripture is ascribed to women. In several of the great religions they have been admitted as members of women's religious orders, and have assumed generally in course of time the position of teachers to those younger than themselves. But it does not appear that e. g., the Buddhist, Jain, and Christian nuns have had any direct share in the elaboration of doctrine or of ritual. The most direct influence of women on religious ideas and emotions has been that of the mystics. Miranbai, the Hindu mystic of Gujerat; Rabia and Nafisa, Muslim saints; the Christian mystics St. Theresa and St. Catherine of Siena with her: "The intelligence feeds the emotions—who knows most loves most, and he who loves most enjoys most." and the reputed Princess Sumedha of the Buddhist "Psalms of the Sisters," are a few of those who have produced important effects in arousing a deeper and a warmer apprehension of the nature of religious truth. Some branches of the Christian Church admit women to the position of deaconess, but the functions are limited. There are among Unitarians some women ministers with identical religious functions as those of men.

Women have no recognised offices in the public worship or teaching of Hindus, Zoroastrians, Jews, Jains, Sikhs or Muslims. The absence of women from such functions may perhaps be accounted for by the simple fact that their attention in all ages and countries has been centred chiefly on the affairs of the home and the rearing of children. It may, however, be due to a psychological disinclination for the type of reflection involved in the formulation of religious doctrines. The absence has had its effect on the development and the interpretation of religious doctrines. This is seen on the one hand in a masculine form of theology, in which, for example, the goddess is usually but a feeble counterpart of the god; or on the other hand in a reaction of excessive veneration of the feminine and maternal, as in popular forms of Tantrism, Hindu and Buddhist, or in the cults of Cybele, Kwanyin, as also in the adoration of the mother of Jesus. An effect may also be seen in the view of the Digamber Jains that no woman can as such obtain redemption but must first be re-incarnated as a man. It is possible, even probable, that in a not distant future women may begin to take a conscious part in the development of religious knowledge. What the result will be, it may be wiser not to venture to forecast.

CHAPTER II

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS, GOOD AND BAD[1]

Human nature is essentially active, and it is on this ground that the most important factor in religion has been regarded as the cult. Nevertheless, the cult is largely an expression of the re-actions of the human spirit under the influence of its inherent needs and feelings, aroused by what is in some manner objective. The character of the religious feelings and practices is affected by these objective impressions and conceptions. Although there can be no real question of psychological priority of the objective in religion, it has a certain logical claim to next consideration.

It has not infrequently been maintained that religion

1. The title of this chapter is open to many obvious objections, but it has not been possible to find one less objectionable. For example, Simple Nature-worship is included in it although it has no necessary supernatural reference. The term *supernatural* is here to be understood in the widest sense. For discussions of the subject of this chapter see : Grant Allen : *Evolution of the Idea of God.* 1897; Goblet d'Alviella : *The Conception of God* 1891; F. B. Jevons : *The Idea of God in Early Religions.* Cambridge; 1910, also *Introd. to the History of Religion.* 4th. ed. 1908. C. H. Toy; *Introd. to the History of Religion.* New York. 1913. H. Spencer : *Principles of Sociology.* 1879; J. G. Frazer : *The Golden Bough.* 3rd. ed. 1906-11. and *Early History of the Kingship* 1905. A. Lang : *The Making of Religion.* 1900.

began with a pure monotheism, with a revelation of the one God to the first members of the human race,[2] and that the later forms have been in various ways deviations from this. The empirical evidence for such a view is quite inadequate and it cannot be pursued far enough back. Nevertheless, it is sufficient to challenge any theory of an evolution of monotheism from a simple original polytheism devoid of all impression of unity. On purely psychological grounds it is reasonable to maintain that an impression of unity was present at the outset of human conscious experience and has continued throughout all stages of its evolution. Man's impression of the objective is primarily " synoptic ". Whatever the objective reality in religion may be, conscious experience is in some sense a whole. The development of religion on the cognitive side is due to an increasing knowledge of the nature and ground of the unity and that which it contains. While it is important ever to keep in mind the power of this psychological impression of unity, its recognition is consistent with the theory that conceptually monotheism has been reached as the result of an evolution of thought. That God may be ever in relation with the world does not enable us to say *a priori* how he would manifest himself at different levels of human development.[3]

2. The idea of such a primitive revelation is suggested in the Hebrew scripture *Genesis*; the later idolatry and worship of " false " gods is represented as a deviation from this original knowledge of God. Dr. John Ross : *The Religion of China.* Edin. 1905 seems to consider monotheism as the primitive religion of the Chinese. Dr. Flinders Petrie : *The Religion of Ancient Egypt* p. 4. says " Whenever we can trace polytheism back to its earliest stages we find that it results from combinations of monotheism ".

3. Though from the standpoint of the philosophy of religion it might be maintained that Nature as thus objective in Nature worship is a mode of revelation of a supreme spirit, to the primitive mind the impression is of the impersonal type, such as in phrases like: it rains; it snows. " It " attracts in daylight and warmth, repels in darkness, lightning, and storm.

The earliest form of religion cannot be scientifically known: it can only be surmised from traces of the survival of its most prominent features in more advanced stages. The simplest religion had probably for immediate objective the world of Nature, at what might be termed "the perceptual level". As a fact of immediate experience in all ages of human history Nature has aroused feelings of joy and misery, hope and fear, awe and dependence. Nature worship, present in religion at most levels, is predominant even perchance alone in the earliest religion, which may be called Simple Nature-worship.[4] Here there is no conception of a spirit or power beyond the immediate impression: Simple Nature-worship is solely the immediate impression and the subjective response to it, with any acts, such as prostration, to which this may lead.

In the earliest religions known to us the unity of Nature[5] is already differentiated into heaven and earth. With each dawn these are distinguished, the one into the bright sky, the other, though remaining still the sombre earth, was the object of attention in the efforts for food. It is not difficult to see how the sky, physically above, had

4. This corresponds largely with what Dr. Marett: *The Threshold of Religion.* 1909 has termed "Pre-animism". The term "Simple Nature-worship" implies a more definite content.

5. The whole here meant includes both earth and heaven as a physical unity. The supremacy of the heaven must soon have been felt. Then Dr. Caird's statement *Evolution of Religion* vol. i. 255. would apply: "The physical universalism of the heavens, if we may use the expression, is thus the first form in which the idea of a universal god, a god who is above, though not as yet exclusive of all others, presents itself to the spirit of man." Compare Max Muller: *Natural Religion.* p. 141. It is interesting to note Edkin's remark: *Religion in China*: p. 29 that it seems as though the spirits of Heaven and Earth were first worshipped together and only later separately. Cf. p. 18, the declaration of the first Manchu emperor: "I, the son of heaven, of the Great Pure dynasty, humbly as a subject dare to make an announcement to Imperial Heaven and Sovereign Earth."

and retained a character of domination. Compared with the earth it has in appearance little differentiation and preserves what may be termed a "unitariness." China still has its Altar of Heaven and its Altar of Earth. The original meaning of T'ien appears to have been "sky" and Shangti, "Lord of the sky." In the Canon of Poetry we have the expression: "O thou distant god in the blue."[6] Dyaus Pitar (the heavenly father) and Prithivi (the earth) are sung of in six hymns of the Rig Veda as the parents of gods and men. Thus sings the bard:

"As priest with solemn rites and adorations I worship Heaven and Earth, the high and holy.

To them, great parents of the gods, have sages of ancient time, singing, assigned precedence.

With newest hymns set in the seat of Order, these two parents, born before all others,

Come, Heaven and Earth, with the celestial people, hither to us, for strong is your protection.

Yea, Heaven and Earth, ye hold in your possession full many a treasure for the liberal giver.

Grant us the wealth which comes in free abundance. Preserve us evermore, ye gods, with blessings."[7]

The Persians said Herodotus "climb the highest mountain and sacrifice to Zeus, by which name they call the whole circle of the sky."[8] "Macrobius states the Cretans call the day Zeus."

In Babylonia Anshar was the god of the upper all and Kishar the goddess of the lower all. The Egyptian Nut (heaven) had a counterpart, Seb (earth). The chief

6. Giles: *Confucianism and its Rivals* p. 20.

7. Rig Veda VII. 53. See Hymns *IV* 56 *VI* 70. Cf. J. H. Moulton: *Early Religious Poetry of Persia.* Cambridge p. 36. The Aryans presumably worshipped mother earth...they seem to have created a special appelation for the Earth spirit, Aramaiti, occupying a prominent position in the Gathas and after.

8. Cook: *Zeus* p. 9, p 15.

deity of the Shinto pantheon is described as "the Heaven illuminating great deity.[9]" In all these the transition to a stage beyond mere Nature-worship is apparent, in a suggestion of the animistic level of distinguishing the god from the immediate physical impression. The transition is expressed clearly in the statement: "At the first both Zeus and Jupiter were the sky: at the last both were the sky god."[10].

The duad of heaven and earth in some circumstances gave place to a triad.[11] Thus in Babylonia Anu the god of heaven was associated with Enlil or Bel, the god of earth and air, and Ea, the god of water on and beneath the earth. To Zeus, the sky god, came to be added Poseidon of the earth, and Hades, ruler of the nether realm. Similarly the Vedic deities were classified in three groups, in the sky above, in the atmosphere, and on the earth beneath.

The brightness of the day associated more definitely with joy and human activities must from the earliest times have been associated with the brilliant disk of the sun whose appearance above the horizon, heralded by the dawn, brought with it the light. Thus it became the central object differentiated in the "upper all" which dominated men. It would be difficult to over-estimate the part the sun, and symbolism connected with it, have played in religion. Hindus turn in prayer towards the morning sun. The Roman soldiers of Vespasian saluted the rising sun. The North West Amazons. venerate the sun as a great sympathetic spirit and the moon as his wife. Amongst the peoples

9. Okakura : *Ideals of the East* 1903 p. 26.

10. Cook : *Zeus* p. 3n. Cf. Nihongi I. p. 41. The sun goddess is sometimes treated anthropomorphically, sometimes as the sun itself. Also Muir : *Sanskrit Texts* : V.

11. Cf. J. E. Carpenter : *Comparative Religion.* London p. 109. In this I am inclined to agree with Dr. Jastrow : *Religions of Babylonia and Assyria.* Boston 1898 that in such grouping we have an effect of priestly systematisation.

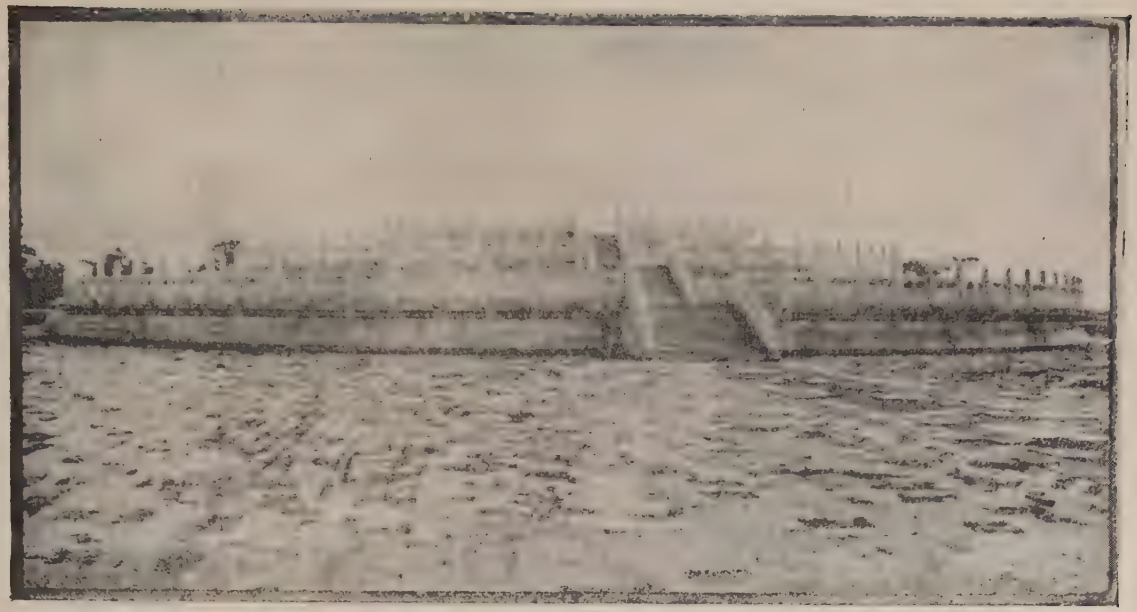
of Mexico and Peru "the sun was generally associated with the moon as spouse, and they were called grandfather and grandmother."[12] Even amongst the Romans for whom "the climate was not so hot as to suggest placation of the sun, nor so rainy and cloudy as to compel them to pray for his aid" "the sun soon reached the position of an intelligent power offering himself, as it we were, to the Stoics for recognition as their Reason or Soul of the world instead of Zeus or Jupiter. It was still a far cry from this to the Sol Invictus of the later empire, who is creator and saviour of man, a personal god in a sense which could hardly be admitted by the Stoics."[13] So in Phoenicia "When a drought befell, they stretched their hands to heaven towards the sun: for he was the one god that they worshipped, as lord of heaven calling him Beelsamen, which signifies "lord of Heaven" among the Phoenicians or Zeus among the Greeks."[14].

12. A. Reville : *The Religions of Mexico and Peru.* London 1884. p. 35.

13. W. Warde Fowler: *Roman Idea of Deity.* London 1914 pp. 58–9.

14. Cook : *Zeus* p. 191. quoting Eusebios. In painting Zeus is represented with a blue nimbus, or with a globe at his feet, or wrapped round with a blue mantle, which came to be spangled with golden stars. (Cook *Zeus.* pp. 32, ; 58.) (Compare kingly robes.) Sri Krishna is also represented in Indian painting as blue, thus suggesting a similar sky reference in origin. It is suggestive also that both Mithra and Varuna two prominent Vedic deities are associated with the sky. To Agni who may be regarded as the son of heaven and earth and as the sacred fire of sun, of lightning, and fire on earth, are addressed more than two hundred hymns in the Rig Veda. Vishnu, of whom Krishna is an *avatar* was probably of solar origin. Surya is the sun, and even Prajapati has been regarded as the sun god.

Goblet d'Alviella: *The Migration of Symbols* 1894 indicates how widespread is the use of the svastika or gammadion, and shows (51 ff) that it is "a symbolical representation of solar movement". The branches are rays in motion, a symbol of prosperity. fecundity and blessing. The wheel that occurs so



The Altar of Heaven, Pekin

Sun worship may be considered as having reached its highest expression in the monotheistic reformation of religion in Egypt under Amenophis IV. The god Re or Re-Horus is evidently solar. Yet in the reformed religion every personal representation of the deity was rejected. "Worship was paid solely to the visible light giving sun "[15] The religious sentiments gathered in this worship are expressed in the following extracts from a hymn to the Sun as supreme:

Thou appearest resplendent on the horizon of the heavens, thou living sun, who was the first to live ..Thou art beautiful and great, radiant, high above the earth...Thou art Re...thou subduest them with thy love. Thou art far off, yet thy beams are upon the earth...

...Early in the morning thou arisest on the horizon,

---

frequently, as e. g. the wheel of Ixion, or in Hindu and Buddhist iconography probably had original solar reference. So also had the widespread use of the halo of light (represented as golden) for beings saint-like or divine in character. The crown of royalty is undoubtedly connected with the claim of kings to have been descended from the sun, e. g. the kings of Egypt from Re or Horus. The Emperors of Japan also claimed descent from the sun goddess. Dr. Cook: *Zeus* p. 186 says some philosophical writers, e. g. the emperor Julian identify Zeus with the sun, but this may be due to a syncretal identification with Serapis and Mithras. Yet (p. 195) "if it must be admitted that the Greeks did not directly identify Zeus, their sky god, with the sun, it can hardly be denied, that indirectly Zeus was connected with solar phenomena." Serapis and Mithras under Chaldean influence came to be regarded as the sun. The Mexicans called themselves "the children of the sun", which was the god *par excellence*: A. Reville: *Religions of Mexico and Peru.* 1884. It is the duty of every Toda to salute the sun every morning when first he leaves his hut: W. R. Rivers: *The Todas.* 1906. Sun worship was probably common in pre-Christian Gaul: C. Renel: *Les Religions de la Gaule avant le Christianisme.* See also C. F. Oldham: *The Sun and the Serpent.* 1905.

15 Steindorff: *The Religion of Ancient Egypt.* 1905 p. 63.

and shinest as the sun by day. Darkness flies when thou dost shed thy rays. The inhabitants of Egypt are joyous: they awaken, stand upon their feet when thou hast raised thyself...The whole land sets to its work.

All the flocks are content in their pastures. Trees and herbs become green, the birds flutter in their nests, and lift their wings to praise thee.

Ships sail down stream, and likewise up stream; every way openeth when thou arisest. The fish in the river leap up before thy face; thy rays penetrate to the depths of the waters.

Thou who dost form boys in the women and their seed in men; thou causest the son to live in the womb of his mother, thou who dost quiet him that he cry not, thou nurse within the womb.

Thou who dost give breath to provide life for all his functions, when he comes forth from the womb...on the day of his birth, thou openest his mouth and he speaks; thou providest whatever he needs.

The chick in the egg chirps within the shell...Thou givest it air therein, that it may live...It comes forth from the egg to chirp...It goes forth on its feet when it comes forth.

How much it is that thou hast done!...Thou createst the earth after thy will, thou alone, with mankind...and everything that is on earth...

...O discriminator, thou dost discriminate between the nations.

Thou formest the Nile in the depths, and leadest it forth according to the pleasure that it may provide for mankind.

All distant lands whose maintenance thou dost provide...How excellent are thy decrees, thou Lord of Eternity![16]

16. Quoted from A. Erman: *A Handbook of the Egyptian Religion*. Eng. trs. 1907. pp. 64-6.

On the other hand it is interesting to note that the moon deity seems to have been more prominent among the nomadic peoples of Arabia and adjacent countries since the sun made travel by day impossible. Shamash, the sun deity, patron of Larsa and Sippar, even came to be regarded as the son of the moon god.[17]

The impression of the sky and of the sun was in some sense continuously present in most of the waking hours, the immediate needs, chiefly physical, directed the attention to particular objects of the " lower all ", the earth. The beneficial, like rivers and sources of water; and the curious, like strange stones; the awe inspiring, like the mighty tree, aroused feelings and attitudes of respect. The impression of power played a leading part. This as found, for example, in the " fire " or " spirit " of the bull or the elephant has come to be termed *Mana*.[18] It would be well to use the term in the widest sense, applying it to the force in the wind, in rushing water, in great leaders and so on. Among the Romans the divine is essentially *numen*, or *numina*. " Its seems impossible that the Roman should have been able to throw off entirely the idea of a power manifesting itself in the universe–a power, forceful, living, full of will. " " The Roman deities were not personal ones, but functional forces of nature..."[19]

Powers express themselves and make themselves most evident in movement. The human experienced an inner power through which he moved, and in various ways,

17. The symbol of the crescent of the moon widely used amongst Muslims has no religious significance but it may perhaps be associated with an earlier reverence of their forefathers.

18. For a discussion of the term Mana see Marett. op cit. and for its origin see Coddrington *The Melanesians. 1891.*

19. Warde Fowler: op-cit. pp. 47, 92. See also C. Bailey: *The Religion of Ancient Rome.* 1907. p. 12. "The characteristic apellation of a divine spirit in the oldest stratum of Roman religion is not *deus* a god, but rather *numen* a power : he becomes *deus* when he obtains a name and is on the way to acquiring a definite personality."

(to be considered in a later chapter), there arose explicit consciousness of an inner or psychical life. The stage of Animism was thus reached. The moving sun, rivers, trees, animals, almost all at least that moved was believed to possess an inner power and an inner life in greater or less degree like that of man. The Sumerians and early Babylonians believed that all animate and even inanimate objects had *zi* or spirit. The worship at springs in Italy was associated with a deity Fons. The ancient Semites considered trees, stones, and wells to be inhabited by spirits.[20] The village deities of India are associated with the main objects of village life.[21]

Religion from the earliest times has been largely social. In its chief religious acts the tribe acted as one. The dependence of a tribe on a particular aspect of Nature, e. g. a river, led to its becoming the centre of religious beliefs, and its spirit tended to become the local or tribal deity. Osiris was originally the god or spirit of the Nile; Ea, the patron deity of Eridu, was the spirit of the Persian Gulf. So also there were gods of the soil. The Assyrian Naaman, who thought himself cured by the god of Israel, seems to have conceived Jahweh as connected with the soil of that land : " And Naaman said... I pray thee let there be given to thy servant two mules burden of earth, for thy servant will henceforth offer neither burnt offering nor sacrifice unto other gods but unto the Lord. "[22] The leaders of invading armies used to make offerings to propitiate the gods of the soil, as did Cyrus and Alexander to the gods of Babylonia.

The normal progress of language and simple reflection led to the spirits of Animism becoming in many instances

20. See W. Robertson Smith: *The Religion of the Semites*. 1914 ed.

21. See Whitehead: *The Village Gods of South India*.

22. *II Kings* v. 17.

spirits of classes of objects or of functions or conditions.[23] It is thus with the excellent example quoted by Dr. Jevons : the *di indigites* of ancient Italy. " Over everything man did or suffered from his birth to his death one of these gods or goddesses presided. The Deus Vagitanus opened the lips of the new-born infant, when it uttered its first cry: the Dea Ossipago made the growing child's bones stout and strong : the Deus Locutius made it speak clearly, the goddess Viriplaca restored harmony between the husband and wife who had quarrelled, the Dea Orbona closed a man's eyes at death ".[24] Or again: " The Prime minister of a friendly state coming to visit a prince (in China) who was ill said : The spirits of the hills and streams are sacrificed to in times of flood, drought and pestilence. The spirits of the sun, moon, and stars, are sacrificed to on the unseasonable occurences of snow, hoar frost, wind or rain. Your Highness must be suffering from something connected with your out-goings or your in-comings, your food, with your griefs or joys. What can the spirits of the mountains or the stars have to do with it ? "[25] Although, as in this last quotation, the great Nature powers have had particular functions ascribed to them, and were often also regarded as local or tribal deities, a distinction should be made between them and minor deities which have generally remained limited to more prescribed spheres of influence. The

23. Distinction ought to be made between Simple and what may be called Functional Animism. For the former the same spirit is always present in the particular object; for the latter one spirit is manifesting itself wherever a particular function is being performed or effect produced, The theoretical belief called Animism (or even Theism) is not in itself religious: religion is present only when an attitude of trust, supplication, and awe, is felt towards one or more spirits conceived as able to produce good or harm.

24. *Idea of God* etc. p. 51. See also F. Granger: *The Worship of the Romans.* 1885 p. 96 quoting Pliny.

25. Giles: *Confucianism* etc. p. 57-8.

two may be described as the great Nature powers and departmental spirits respectively.

One of the most significant forms of *Mana* was experienced in the strong and valiant leaders in battle who also maintained order in the tribe. The attitude inspired by the tribal ruler was similar to that called forth by the great forces of Nature, but he could make his power more intelligibly felt. Even in his lifetime treated as different from ordinary men, after death in times of danger men called for his aid. The effect of legend and distance of time helped in their idealisation. Such may have had a deeper root in the Greek mind than the cult of the great powers of Nature. "It is significant that their general name for God comes from this side. For *theos* (*dwesos* cf. Latin *festus* and especially *feralis*–ghostly) meant originally ghost : *theoi patrikoi* ancestral spirits, is a phrase which retains the most ancient meaning of the word. "[26] The possession of *Mana* and the power to bring peace, to instill fear by the punishment of individuals, led to the ascription of divine character to kings. The emperors of China and Japan have been " sons of heaven. " Not only did the Greeks regard Alexander as a god, but " his expression and cast of features came to affect the sculpture of his age even in the representations of the gods themselves."[27]

This last phrase is significant in suggesting the fusion of two tendencies : the idealisation of men and the humanisation of the gods. With the attitude of Animism there has been a corresponding development of the ideas formed of the soul in man and of the inner powers in the gods. Thus representing gods in forms like their own, men were easily led to ascribe a status like that of the gods to some men. Not merely were kings considered as gods, but gods as having been earthly kings : in this way men expressed a

26. Moulton: *Early Religious Poetry of the Persians p.* 53.
27. E. A. Gardner: op. cit.

feeling of kinship and a close relationship with the gods. "The Egyptians say also that besides heavenly gods there were others called earthly gods, who were born mortals, and who acquired immortality by their great intelligence and the services they rendered the human race. Several of them reigned in Egypt. The sun was the first king of the Egyptians.....then Saturn reigned and gave birth to Osiris and Isis, who having themselves attained royalty ameliorated social life by their beneficence."[28]

Although the synoptic aspect of physical Nature, and the felt unity of consciousness, persistently kept at least as a back ground a sense of predominant unity, experience of the multiplicity of powers affecting human life was the psychological basis of Polytheism. Polytheisms grew up out of the varied elements to which we have referred : the great Nature powers, the departmental spirits, idealised human beings. The growth in consciousness of personal individuality, as distinct from tribal individuality had its

28. A Moret: *In the Time of the Pharoahs.* 1901. quoting Diodorus I. xxvi, 13.

Warde Fowler : *Roman Deity* p. 88 says "The deification of the dead Augustus was not merely official act,but a genuine confession of devotion towards one who had wrought great things for the world and proclaimed a gospel of peace and glad tidings". On the other hand (p. 212) " There is little sign of any real interest taken in the cult of Ceasar by contemporaries. Nor does the next age show any interest in it". Nevertheless J. B. Carter : *The Religious Life of Ancient Rome* 1920 p. 70 says emperor worship " was in a sense the only universal form of religion in the Roman empire". J.P. Mahaffy: *Greek Civilisation* 1897 p. 244 says that before 300 B. C. every Hellenistic king had begun to assert his own divinity. In the Japanese *Nihongi* II pp 198 and 210 we have the phrases " the emperor who rules as a god incarnate", and " the god incarnate, the emperor Yamato Neko". Babylon deified her kings after Nippur was annexed by Hammurabi. L. W. King: *History of Babylon.* p. 206. Dr. Caird: *Evolution of Religion* I. p. 239. thought that in the majority of cases a being reverenced as a god in ancestor worship is not conceived as a god because he is an ancestor, but as ancestor because he is a god.

counterpart in the conceptions of the distinct individuality of objective powers in religion. It is, however, of importance to remember that except when a deity came to occupy the chief place in practical religion the attributes ascribed to him (her) were rarely those of supreme power. The so-called gods of Polytheism are more correctly thought of as so many supernatural spirits. Psychologically it seems almost inevitable that in religious practice a people or an individual should treat one deity as greater or more favourable than all the rest. Although others were admitted and occasionally approached for particular purposes, for the essential religious life one would displace all the others. The development from Polytheism is a practical more than a theoretical process. Nevertheless, thought had an important part in the development. In accordance with that earliest predominance of the sky and the sun, one god becoming recognised as supreme, the others are subordinated to him. This may be as when Zeus became regarded as a monarch on Olympus; or even more, as the father of gods and men. Or the systematisation takes the form of the family, as when Hera is the wife of Zeus, Apollo his son, Athena his daughter, Poseidon and Hades his brothers. Conflict of people with people not only tended to strengthen the faith of the conquerors in their gods, but led not infrequently also to their supremacy in the pantheon of the conquered, and the fusions of peoples led to a systematisation of the deities. Marduk from being a comparatively obscure city god of Babylon underwent transformation in proportion to the city's importance.[29] In early times the Hebrews looked on Jahweh as their special national god, and he is represented as saying "They have forsaken me and have worshipped Ashtoreth, the god of the Zidonians, Chemosh, the god of Moab,

29. See L. W. King: *History of Babylon.* p. 194; also R. W. Rogers; *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria.* 1908. pp. 53, 55, 73. 82.

Milcom, the god of the children of Amon"[30] The association of gods and goddesses in groups may frequently have had a political cause. That Osiris, Isis and Horus are found together on Egyptian monuments, Horus being represented as a child in the arms of Isis accompanying Osiris, may be due to a political alliance and fusion of peoples against a common enemy, the worshippers of Set.[31] Not merely have conquered accepted the deities of the conquerors, as the Dravidians in India accepted those of the Aryans, but the reverse was also the case: much of the goddess worship, as probably also such gods as Ganesha and Hanuman being originally Dravidian.

Two correlated tendencies lead in the development of Anthropomorphism: the making of legends and myths and the making of images. In the making of images we find also the Theriomorphic tendency, due largely to the impression of the *Mana* of the beast represented. It may possibly have also a totemistic significance. In any case it is only transitional. Colossal figures half lion half man and winged, guarded the gate of the palace of Nineveh, and there is an inscription of Asarhaddon: "May the gracious bull god and lion god ever dwell in in that palace, protecting the path of my royalty."[32] The Egyptian Horus was represented with the head of a hawk, as the Indian Ganesha with the head of an elephant. One example is known from Greece: the horse-headed Demeter of Phigolia. In the development of anthropomorphic images there is the effect of the religious feelings trying through art to obtain a presentation of a divine figure more in accordance with the inner needs of the soul. As most individuals are easily affected through the visible the artistic

30. I *Kings* xi. 33.

31. So Dr. Flinders Petrie; *Religion of Ancient Egypt.* pp. 40—41.

32. cf. L. R. Farnell; *Greece and Babylon.* p. 52.

development of the image has had its effects on their religious attitude. A relief shows Shamash enthroned inspiring Hammurabi. A sculpture in the Louvre represents Mithras as a man slaying a bull. Anthropomorphism has dominated the popular religion amongst the Hindus. The statue of Aphrodite, at Cnidus in the 4th century is said to have inspired a personal passion: "The beautiful idol was cherished because it could arouse the enthusiastic affection of a sensitive people, and could bring them to the very presence of a friendly divine person."[33] And something similar might perhaps be said of the images of Krishna, of Vithoba of Pandapur, and others in India.

The close relation between the image and idea of the god in its best form may be seen in the following description of Zeus: "The strength of the form and its imposing proportions show the power to rule and the king; the gentle and amiable character shows the father and his care: the majesty and severity show the god of the city and of law; and of the kinship of men and gods the similarity of their shape was a symbol. His protective friendship of suppliants and strangers and fugitives and such like is seen in his kindliness, and his evident gentleness and goodness. And an image of the giver of possessions and harvest is seen in the simplicity and magnanimity displayed in his form. He seems just like one who would give and be generous of good things."[34]

33. E. A, Gardner: op. cit.

34. Ibid: 'The use of images has often had a marked effect especially in the social development of a religion. It may said to be a stage in the evolution of religion. The level of Nature-worship is really non-personal; the anthropomorphic stage in which images are made indicates a closer personal religion between man and what is beyond him; but with the attainment of a more inward spiritual attachment, images are unnecessary. If on the one hand they may have hindered the attainment of a purely spiritual conception, on the other they have helped in the elevation of religious sentiment and in drawing men to religion. Thus Quintilian wrote:

Sex Images as Religious Symbols

In consideration of their continued use in Hinduism, reference may be made here, incidentally, to sex symbols as images. This was probably originally related with the intensity of feelings experienced[35] in the sex act, tending thus to an attitude of awe with regard to the male organ. So, further, mysteriously through the female, human and infra-human, came new beings. The development of sex morality has led amongst many peoples to the suppression of forms of representation of these mysterious powers, but Hindu thought has idealised them as emblems of the generative powers of the universe. Such an idea of the world as procreated is found in the mythology of Shintoism, and is interesting in its reference to the pillar: "The two deities having descended on Onogoro-jima created there an eight-fathom house with an august central pillar. Then Izanagi addressed Izanami saying: 'How is thy body formed?' Izanami replied: 'My body is completely formed except one part which is incomplete.' Then Izanagi said, 'My body is completely formed and there is one part which is superfluous. Suppose that we supplement that which is

"The beauty of the statue even made some addition to the received religion." E. A. Gardner: *ibid.* Hindus and Buddhists make the most general use of images in religion. Jains have images of the Tirthankaras, and in some temples also of a goddess. The Jews were forbidden to make images of the divine being, and in this they are followed by the Muslims. Christians avoid making images of God the Father, but the use of images of Jesus, of his mother, and the saints is common. Probably under the influence of Islam, the Sikhs have no images in their temples, but the Granth Sahib is treated with a similar reverence. Possibly from the same influence non-idolatrous sects arose among the Jains, led by Lonka in 1468. It may be pointed out, as by A, Davidson: *The Theology of the Old Testament* 1911 p. 71. that the Mosaic commandment, Exodus xx, does not say that God has no form but forbids any attempt to represent God in material form.

35. Compare the attitude towards the sacred *Soma*, evidently an intoxicating drink.

incomplete in thee with that which is superfluous in me, and thereby create lands'. Izanami replied: 'It is well.' Then Izanagi said, 'Let me and thee go round the heavenly august pillar, and having met at the other side, let us become united in wedlock.' This being agreed to, he said: 'Do thou go round the left and I will go round the right.' When they had gone round, Izanami spoke first and exclaimed: 'How delightful! I have met a lovely youth.' Izanagi then said: 'How delightful! I have met a lovely maiden'."[36]

A factor which has had, has, and must continue to have an influence in the monotheistic view of the world is the aspect of regularity and order in experience. In the Rig Veda[37] the reality of order in Nature and the moral life, associated with the gods, is expressed by the term *rita*. It is seen for example in the regular recurrence of the dawn: "Dawn is obedient to the reign of law eternal." Agni is *ritapa*, the protector of *rita*. Mitra and Varuna "are true to law, born in law, strengtheners of law and haters of falsehood." "Mighty through law, Adityas, is your greatness." "Agni and Varuna speak of truth... thinking on order, as the guards of order." Similarly the use of the term *Asha*[38] in the Zoroastrian *Gathas*. And Lao

36. See W. G. Ashton: *Shinto* 1905. p. 89. Images of the *lingam* and *yoni* are found in all parts of India, often being the central object in Shaivite temples. Dr. T. Richard in his edition of *Guide to Buddhahood* Shangahai 1907 gives a picture of conventionalised forms "found in most Buddhist temples in China." The Tantric forms of Buddhism and Hinduism are associated largely with the idea of the masculine and feminine in their relationship. This subject has been discussed sympathetically in the works edited by A. Avalon; who even goes so far as to say: "Mediaeval Hinduism (to use a convenient if somewhat vague term) was, as its successor, modern Indian orthodoxy is, largely Tantrik". *Principles of Tantra* 1914. I. preface.

37. *Rig Veda* I. 123. 13; VII, 66. 13; II. 27. 8

38. L. H. Mills: *Lore of the Avesta*. p. 77; "It is in a word

Tzu's use of the term *Tao* is apparently associated with a recognition of a principle of unfailing regularity in the universe, which is to be considered fundamental at least in the later Taoism.[39] So also righteousness and peace in Shintoism is in following the "way of the gods," which is certainly conceived as one of order.[40] The influence of Stoicism on religion, and its own virtue as a substitute, lay chiefly in its recognition of a universal order.[41] Not merely the observed regularity of Nature has tended thus to emphasise the fact of unity, and so to a transcendence of polytheistic conceptions, but also the felt unity of the social group in relation to its highest ruler, this as experienced in communal religious practices and in the development of social custom and the elements of law. It is on this ethical side that the fundamental attitude of monotheism has first gained wide personal acceptance.

The transcendence of Polytheism in Greece was probably due more to the ethical teachings of philosophers and poets than to metaphysical reflection. There is little evidence of religious prophet or saint. The gods of the

---

his righteousness when he thinks, his truth when he speaks, his justice in his deeds."

39. Lionel Giles; *Taoist Teachings* 1912. cf also E. H. Parker; *Studies in Chinese Religion*. 1910. p. 19, etc. And Edkins: op cit. p. 53 says "The middle-age Chinese philosophers, about the time of the European Schoolmen—in their hands Providence is nothing but the spontaneous action of law."

40. So, in comparatively modern times, it has been maintained that Shinto is thus superior to other religions, because it needs no *code* of morals.

41. E. Zeller: *Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics* 1892. p. 159; also p. 171 (where references are given) "When regarded as the groundwork of natural formations, this primary Being, or general law is called Nature; but when it appears as the cause of the orderly arrangement and development of the world, it is known as Providence; or in popular language it is called Zeus, or the will of Zeus; and in this sense it is said that nothing happens without the will of Zeus."

Homeric pantheon had superior power, were immortal, with the beauty of youth, yet they had their disputes and conflicts. In the tragedies of Aeschylus it may be seen that an interest in moral questions was taking the place of that in stories of the adventures of the gods. And the basic principle of the attitude of Euripides is expressed in his verse: " If the gods do aught that is base, then they are not gods. "[42] The influence of Socrates and his chief successors in philosophy in Greece seems to have been mainly ethical.[43] So also was the development of religion through Zarathustra and the Hebrew law-givers and prophets: in the former through the association of the idea of Ahura Mazda with the good on all sides of life, and in the latter through emphasis on loyalty of the people to Jehovah. Amongst the Romans the most persistent characteristic factor was the association of the deities with the social life of the family or with the state.[44]

Although there have been times when the organisers of religion have lagged behind in intellectual insight and moral fervour as compared with the highest attainments of

42. C. H. Moore : *The Religious Thought of the Greeks.* Cambridge U. S. A. 1916. p, 135. See also L. R. Farnell : *Higher Aspects of Greek Religion.* 1912. and J. P. Mahaffy. *Greek Civilisation.* p. 131–2.

43. This cannot be substantiated here; but with regard to Socrates see J. Burnet : *Early Greek Philosophy.* 1914 p. 176–7.

44. See W. Warde Fowler : *The Religious Experience of the Roman People.* London 1911. p. 137 " Far more than any other cult Vesta represents the reality and continuity of Roman religious feeling; " p. 73 " Vesta, the spirit of the fire, was the central point of the whole worship (i. e. in the family) the spiritual embodiment of its physical welfare. " p. 126 " the round temple of Vesta.....with its eternal fire, was symbolic of the common life of the community. " Cf. *Roman Deity* pp. 15, 27, 42, and p. 83 Cicero's *dictum*: " Gods are needed for the maintenance of the social system, without them a society would be a chaos (*magna confusio*) *fides, iustitia, societas generis humani* would all go to pieces. "

the time, they have been generally in advance of the great mass of religious devotees. The expositions of religious beliefs have thus been coloured by theories which, while holding sway amongst the priests, have corresponded with little if anything in the religious lives of the many. There has been a tendency amongst students to exaggerate the importance of doctrinal expressions. Philosophical reflection has modified the conceptions of a comparatively small portion of humanity, and from them influences have passed affecting mankind generally in a much smaller degree. For the many religion has always been something practical and concerned with concrete relationships of the soul, and these in the highest practical form as essentially personal. Reflection has, however, within its limits, played a distinctive part, especially amongst the Aryans, before all the Greeks and the Indians. Thought recognising the mystery of existence, has striven to press beyond the popular ideas of the gods. Nowhere is this more strikingly expressed than in the oft quoted hymn of the Rig Veda.

" Who verily knows and who can here declare it, whence it was born and whence comes this creation?

The gods are later than this world's production. Who knows then whence it first came into being?

He, the first origin of this creation, whether he formed it all or did not form it,

Whose eye controls this world in highest heaven, he verily knows it, or perhaps, he knows it not. "[45]

So again in an Egyptian hymn to Osiris-Sokar, towards the end is the phrase: " Behold the mysterious One, he who is unknown to mankind."[46] And St. Paul found in Athens an " altar with the inscription: To the unknown God. "[47]

45. *Rig Veda* X. 129.
46. A. Erman: op. cit.
47. *Acts* xvii. 23.

Such expressions of ignorance and ultimate mystery did not prevent thought striving to its highest possible conceptions, though these have often assumed a virtually negative character. Thus Xenophen while teaching that "one God there is, greatest among gods and men," proceeds that he is "like to mortals neither in form nor thought."[48] When the mythological conceptions were discredited, some turned to a sort of personification of fortune or fate. It may however be remarked that such a conception seems to have been long "at the back of the Greek mind," and even the gods were in some way subordinate to it.[49] The influential cults of Orphism probably of Eastern origin had a pantheistic tendency: "One Zeus, one Hades, one Sun, one Dionysus, one god in all."[50] Even Xenophen's thought may have been similar: "As a whole he sees, as a whole he thinks, as a whole he hears."[51] A popular lyrist expresses a spiritual conception of god as an eternal spirit: "Hear me, Father, O! Mystery of our life, Lord of the ever-living soul." And to Euripides is attributed the fragmentary utterance: "The mind in each one of us is god."[52]

The Vedic rishis were probably the earliest to turn in the search for the divine from the world without to the world within. The Vedic hymns contain evidence of the sublimest feelings of the human soul in relation to the great powers of Nature; they express at times the sense of the unfathomable mystery of existence; they contain the germs of the understanding of life in spiritual terms. There is here no clear systematic doctrine—the attributes applied

48. J. Burnet; *Early Greek Philosophy*. 1908. p. 132.

49. G. Murray: *Four Stages of Greek Religion*. p. 116. C. H. Moore: op. cit. p. 11.

50. C. H. Moore: op. cit. p. 54.

51. But see J. Burnet's rendering: *Early Greek Philosophy*, p. 132.

52. L. R. Farnell: *Higher Aspects of Greek Religion*. p. 144.

are often those of Nature—but spiritual conceptions and a depth of inner life are revealed and some of the relationships felt are distinctly personal. Thus Varuna some of whose attributes suggest the sky, or the sky god, is also the king of all, the "upholder of order" beautiful in form, unconquerable, full of holy strength, leading his worshippers to wealth and happiness. He sees what has been, and what will be done. As a player throws the dice, he settles all things. He is the moral governor of the world, and men pray to him for mercy. So again Indra is the creator, the mighty, the wise, true, holy, omniscient and omnipresent, who hears and sees all things. Just and merciful, he punishes and he pardons. Agni also is given some epithets which suggest a conscious relationship. He is the lord, the wise king, the sage, the father, the son, and the friend of men, dwelling in their houses guarding them. He is beloved by all: though among the immortals, he condescends to be the guest of men aiding in the expiation of their sin. "O Agni, in thy friendship I am at home." So the sun, as Savitri, the quickener of life is "the soul of the universe." Brahmaspati is the lord of prayer, who becomes described as the father of the gods. The name Ishwara, "the lord" seems used in a distinctly personal sense in later Hinduism.[53]

Already in the Rig Veda there are indications of the recognition of a unity underlying all the gods, and one passage gives clear expression to Henotheism: "There is one Being: sages call it by many names"[54] The same idea is found in the expression: "I am Vishnu, I am Brahma; I am Shiva." It is sometimes put differently, as when the "sages say to Vishnu: All men worship thee:

53. See *Rig Veda* I. 25; I, 115; II. 28; VII. 86-89; VIII. 41-2; *Artharva Veda* IV. 16. *Rig Veda* VIII. 67; I. 173; VII. 32. *Rig Veda* V. 44. 15.

54. *Rig Veda.*

to whom dost thou offer worship? and he says: To the Eternal Spirit."[55]

As far as religion is concerned there are two main[56] attitudes to the idea of god in Brahmanical thought. For one of these theology has no more suitable term than Pantheism, and this is the supreme instance of Pantheism in relation with religion. The other may best be called Theism. It must, however, be recognised that these are rather ideal tendencies than actualities, for in the conditions which have prevailed and still largely prevail, each may be said to include within itself or to fluctuate with a practical Polytheism. The pantheistic conceptions find their most impressive expression in the Upanishads, and they should be allowed to speak for themselves.[57]

"In the beginning this world was just Being: one without a second." Thenceforth "there are assuredly two forms of Brahma: the formed and the formless." He (It) is the reality of the objective world of Nature: "the ether primeval" the void. "Brahma, indeed, is this whole world, this widest extent." "Truly, everything here is Brahma." All gods, all beings, all vital energies come forth from this soul. One should reverence space as Brahma. Brahma is also the reality of the individual self. To begin with it is suggested "this self is the trace of this All; for by it one

55. *Mahabharata* III. 189. 5f and XII. 335. 26ff as quoted in N. Macnicoll: *Indian Theism.* 1915. pp. 89, 91.

56. The conceptions of god vary in different philosophical systems: information must be sought from a multiplicity of sources. Reference may be made to Dr. J. N. Farquhar: *The Religious Literature of India* 1920.

57. The thought of the Upanishads is capable of more than one interpretation, and has been differently conceived by later schools of Indian thought. It is not systematic. There are many translations. Most of the passages here quoted are from R. E. Hume: *The Thirteen Principal Upanishads.* London. 1921. Those from the Kena and the Katha Upanishads are from translations by M. Hirayana.

knows this all". But the conclusion is reached that the real Self of the self is the universal Self. One should reverence the mind as Brahma. In and through the spiritual the nature of God, of reality, is to be found. "That which is the finest essence—this whole world has that as its soul. That is reality. That is Atman (Soul). That art thou." "That which is not expressed in words, but through which words are expressed..... that which is not thought by the mind but by which they say the mind is thought;—that verily know thou is Brahman: it is not what (people) here worship." "Verily, that great unborn soul, undecaying undying, immortal, fearless, is Brahma." Brahma is life, joy, imperishable, the self-luminous, the kindly one, the all-worker, yet the non-active and the full, the blessing giver, and the adorable;moving yet immovable; within all this, yet outside all this. "As a unity only is It to be looked upon-this indemonstrable, enduring Being, spotless, beyond space." "This Soul is the overlord of all things, the king of all things. As all spokes are held together in the hub and felly of a wheel, just so in this Soul all things, all gods, all breathing things, all selves are held together." "He is the unseen Seer, the unheard Hearer, the unthought Thinker, the ununderstood Understander. Other than He there is no seer. Other than He there is no hearer. Other than He there is no thinker. Other than He there is no understander. He is your Soul, the Inner Controller, the Immortal." "The one god hidden in all things, all-pervading, the Inner Soul of all things; the overseer of deeds, in all things abiding; the witness, the sole thinker, devoid of qualities; the one controller of the inactive many, who makes the one seed manifold;—the wise who perceive Him as standing in one's self, they, and no others, have eternal happiness."

All attempts to describe Brahma must indeed fail,

for to all it must be said: Not so; not so;–Not this; not that. Nevertheless though he is "higher than understanding, " "they who know him with heart and mind as abiding in the heart, become immortal. " "He is my self. " " I am Brahma. " And the true appreciation of this brings the highest that religion can give. For "the self...is free from evil, ageless, deathless, sorrowless, hungerless, thirstless, whose desire is the Real, whose conception is the Real." " Subtler than the subtle, greater than the great—the Self is hidden in the heart of this living being. He that effaces desires sees it; through composure of mind one knows the glory of one's self and becomes free from sorrow. " It is this which gives true value to all: for " Lo ! verily not for love of all is all dear, but for love of the Soul all is dear."[58] And the seeker having caught a glimpse of the essential truth breaks forth into a hymn of praise:

Thou art Brahma, and verily thou art Vishnu.
Thou art Rudra. Thou art Prajapati.
Thou art Agni, Varuna, Vayu.
Thou art Indra, Thou art the Moon.
Thou art food. Thou art Yama. Thou art the Earth.
Thou art all. Yea, thou art the unshaken one !
For Nature's sake and for its own
Is existence manifold in thee.
O Lord of all, hail unto thee !
The Soul of all causing all acts,
Enjoying all, all life art thou !
Lord of all pleasure and delight,

58. *Chandogya Upanishad* vi. 11. 1 ; *Brihad-Aranyaka* ii. 3. 1 ; *Mundaka* ii. 2. 11 ; *Mandukya* 2 ; *Ch : Up* : iii. 18. 1 ; *Ch : Up :* vi. 10. 3 ; *Kena Up* : i. 4 ; *Brih : Up :* iv. 4. 25, *Ch : Up* : iv. 10. 25 ; *Ch : Up :* iii. 12. 9 ; *Isa Up* : 5 ; *Brih :* iv, 4. 20 ; *Brih: Up* : ii. 5. 15 ; *Brih : Up* : iii. 7. 23 ; *Svetasvatara Up :* vi. 11–12 ; *Brih* : *Up* : ii. 3. 6 ; *Katha Up* : vi. 9 ; *Kaushitaki Up :* iii. 8 ; *Brih : Up :* i. 4. 10 ; *Ch : Up :* viii. 7. 3 ; *Katha Up* : ii. 20 ; *Brih* : *Up*: ii. 4. 5 ;

Hail unto thee, O Tranquil Soul,
Yea, hail to thee, most hidden one,
Unthinkable, Unlimited,
Beginningless and endless, too![59]

These thoughts echo and re-echo throughout the later religious history of India, except when they were over-shadowed by the Buddhistic conceptions, and considering the virtual disappearance of Buddhism from India, it is a serious question as to the extent and depth of its acceptance. These thoughts attained eventually in the teaching of Sankara an extreme interpretation beyond which it is impossible to go: as pure undifferentiated unity of the real, not to be "known", but to be "realised" in *anubhava*, intuition in which the distinction of subject and object is no more. This doctrine has claimed, and claims, the assent of a large section of educated Hindus. But even with regard to these, the doubt may be expressed as to whether it is a correct representation of their religious life, or just the acceptance of a philosophical doctrine the effects of the powerful impress of which still remain. Even these in their religious life and thought appear to imply the more theistic idea of god which finds varied expressions in the vast religious literature of India. That it is such an attitude and belief which dominates in religious worship, especially of the vast masses, does not seem open to doubt. But here it is no question of a clear-cut Theism. Pantheistic and acosmic ideas frequently arise, and the deity though essentially supreme is not always described in the same way or with the same name. Further, it is no isolated supreme, but one surrounded by higher powers, "gods" or "goddesses", who are turned to for benefits on particular occasions. And again, it is a supreme worshipped not so much in his distant majesty, but in one or more of the

59. *Maitri Upanishad*: v. 1.
60. cf. V. Subrahmanya Iyer: *Indian Phil. Rev.* III. 189.

forms in which he has condescended to manifest himself: the avatars (descents or incarnations). The forms and the names are manifold, yet each in turn is described in terms of the Supreme. There is in this probably a result of fusions and intercourse of different social groups. As one effect of differences of origin, as well as of theological systematisation, the various representations are associated with different functions. Out of this great variety a few main conceptions only can be here referred to.

Shaivism and Vaishnavism represent the former a more hesitating, the latter a more definite approach to Theism. Shiva is probably related to Rudra, the god of storms in the Rig Veda, as Vishnu was the sun. Shiva has, however, many other attributes and is pictured as living with Uma (Parvati) in the Himalayas, practising austerities. Thus, it is in association especially with Shaivism that the most noteworthy ascetic orders developed. He is represented in a variety of forms. One of these blends

61. The subject of Hindu Theism is too varied to be adequately treated here. J. N. Farquhar : *The Religious Literature of India.* 1920 will indicate the chief sources. The following within their limits are good general surveys : R. G. Bhandarkar : *Vaishnavism, Shaivism, and minor Religious Systems*, Strassburg. 1913 ; and N. Macnicoll : *Indian Theism from the Vedic to the Muhammedan Period.* Oxford 1915. Amongst the philosophical systems that of Ramanuja, " qualified non-dualism " has had the greatest theistic influence. Though the Yoga is called a philosophy, and accepts an idea of god, it is more important as a *Method*, and in this god seems of little if any significance. It is in the accounts of the actual religious worship, e. g. in prayers and hymns, the evidences for the theistic attitude are to be chiefly sought. It seems to be of very essence of Theism that it should be seen in the religious life as such, as found, for example, in the saints such as those of South India (see A. S. Govindacharya : *The Divine Wisdom of the Dravida Saints.* Madras 1902), or Kabir, Ramananda, or Chaitanya rather than in philosophical speculation. The subject should also be considered in reference to the images used. See H. Krishna Sastri: *South Indian Images of Gods and Goddesses.* Madras 1916.

the masculine and the feminine together; and the *lingam* has become accepted as his symbol. The tendency towards an impression of Shiva as an impersonal power is always present. He is the manifest, the unmanifest the changeless, the eternal, the revealer of truth, the king of the gods, omnipresent, the all-pervading infinite spirit. He has "the powers of creation, existence or protection, destruction, concealment and benefaction."[62]

Shiva has, nevertheless, been treated as though a spirit with whom men can have a personal relationship and thus the object of devotion. So Manikka Vasahar, the South Indian poet sang:

"Our god of gods, whom e'en the devas' king knows but in part,
Ruleth the three who in the fair world-gardens life impart,
And life maintain, and life destroy, our First Reality,
Father of old, whose consort Uma is, our sovereign, He
Came down in grace and made e'en me to be His very own.
Henceforth before no man I bow, I fear but him alone,
Now of his servants' servants I have joined the sacred throng,
And ever more and more I'll bathe in bliss, with dance and song.[63]

In Vaishnavism, various theistic tendencies have amalgamated and reached the most definite and intimate forms of Hindu Theism. The Upanishads and their pantheistic and acosmist interpretation ought not to be exaggerated as a representation of the religious thought of so vast a country at any age. The apparently theistic attitude of the Bhagavatas was probably a development of one of many similar tendencies throughout India which have become more or less united in later stages through analogous ideas

62. R. G. Bhandarkar: op. cit. p. 124.

63. F. Kingsbury and G. E. Phillips: *Hymns of the Tamil Shaivite Saints*. Calcutta and London. 1921. pp. 93, 95.

and, still more, common sentiments. Narayan, Vasudeva, these are two names round which theistic worship grew up. Even more perhaps can this be said of some of the incarnations of Vishnu. For in these the divine is represented as concerned with the welfare of the world and of men. "To guard the righteous, to destroy evil doers, to establish the law, I come into birth age after age".[64] It is before all in his incarnations as Krishna and Rama that Vishnu has become the centre of religious life. In Rama the divine is not merely an ethnical hero but more: he has gone through the trials and felt the sufferings of men on earth. Krishna, as the object of Radha's love, is the Lord as the object of the love of the soul. On the one hand in his life in Brindaban he attracts by his participation in human *joys*: then in the *Bhagavadgita*, he not only puts forward the aim of *knowledge* and the gospel of *unselfish activity and fulfilment of duty*, but also reveals himself as the supreme spirit. The terms in which this revelation is given are sometimes distinctly Upanishadic and sometimes more definitely theistic: this has made it possible for it to be accepted by most Hindus.

The everlasting, imperishable, changeless, dwelling

---

64. *Bhagavadgita*. Trs by L. D. Barnett. 1905. iv. 8. There are ten principal avatars of Vishnu, which are represented as follows:

Matsa (Fish) rescued Manu the progenitor of the human race from a great flood. *Kurma* (Tortoise) to form a pivot for the churning of the ocean. *Varaha* (Boar) rescued the earth from a demon out of the boundless flood. *Narasinha* (Man-lion) slew a demon. *Vamana* (Dwarf) rescued earth and heaven from the tyrant Bali, by his three strides. *Parasurama* (Rama with the axe) incarnation for purpose of extermination of the Kshatriyas. *Ram Chandra*, hero of the Ramayana. *Krishna*. *Buddha*: "By his word, as Buddha Vishnu deludes the heretics" (Bhagvata Purana.) *Kalki*, (Horse) to come at the end of Kali Yuga or fourth age. Cf. Revelation xix. 11.

in all things, the Lord of beings, " I am the origin of the All." " It is I that with one portion of Me have established this whole universe ". " I am Time that makes worlds to perish away." " I am seated in the heart of all " " the foundation of changeless immortality, of the everlasting law, and of absolute joy ". " Father of this universe am I, mother, ordainer, grandsire, the thing that is known and the being that makes clean, the word *Om*, the Rig, the Sama, and the Yajus; the way, the supporter, the lord, the witness, the dwelling, the friend, the origin, the dissolution, the abiding place, the house of ward, the changeless seed. I give heat; I arrest and let loose the rain; I am likewise power of immortality and death, Being and No-Being, O Arjuna." The Supreme Male (Purusha) wherein born beings abide, wherewith this whole universe is filled, to be won by undivided devotion, He " remoulds again and again the whole of this subject mass of born beings by power of Nature." " Knowing that I am He whom sacrifice and austerity touch, the great lord of all the worlds, the friend of all beings, he wins to peace." " If one sees Me in all things and all things in Me, I am not lost to him nor is he lost to Me." He enters a mortal frame, and misguided men ignorantly despise him, but great hearted men knowing a godlike nature worship him with undivided mind. Nevertheless he says: " I am indifferent to all born beings: there is none whom I hate, none whom I love. But they that worship Me with devotion dwell in Me and I in them" Yet he redeems human souls: " I lift them up speedily from the ocean of deathly life-wanderings as their mind is laid on Me. "[65]

Such descriptions are indeed more Upanishadic than theistic, but their association with Krishna as the charioteer in human form, and as the beloved herdsman, gives them

65. *Bhagavadgita.* x. 8; 42; xi. 32; xv. 15; xiv. 27; ix. 17-19; viii 22; ix. 8; v. 29; vi. 30; ix. 29; xxii. 7.

a more personal impression. Even the hymns of the saints rarely become quite free from a pantheistic or acosmist tone, though a few express the need. Thus Tukaram sings:

Advait contents me not, but dear to me
The service of thy feet.
O grant me this reward! To sing of thee
To me how sweet!
Setting us twain, lover and Lord, apart,
This joy to me display.
Grant it to Tuko-Lord of all thou art-
Some day, some day.[66]

Far Jainism, God, in so far as the term may be used, is perfect unfettered spirituality, pure *jiva*. In the literature which is available it is not apparent whether individual souls attaining perfection are ultimately identical so that in reality there is (or can be) only one perfect spirit, or whether there are and may be a multitude of such.[67] Pure soul "has perfect perception, perfect knowledge, infinite bliss, and infinite power, is a perfect saint and being self-manifested is known as Jina-deva (or divine conqueror)."[68]

The doctrine of the Upanishads has all the appearance of maintaining the eternity of the individual self as

66. N. Macnicoll: *Hymns of the Marathi Saints*, p. 68.

67. The literature suggests a multiplicity of souls, no one of which is supreme, when they are perfect. For example, apparently no one of the twentyfour Tirthankaras of the present age is (in theory) pre-eminent. Some Jain monks have given me the idea of the identity of all *Jiva* in a *Paramatman;* but I suspect this view is due to an influence from the wide-spread Advaitism of Sankara. That the idea of cosmic unity should *appear* neglected in Jainism is remarkable and may be more due to our ignorance of the literature than to an actual neglect. The distinction *jiva* (the conscious) and *ajiva* (the unconscious) at least suggests a radical dualism.

68. J. L. Jaini: *Outline of Jainism* 1916 p. 130. See also P. C. Nahar and K. Ghosh: *An Epitome of Jainism*, Calcutta 1917 ch. xvi and xii.

Jain Temple, Mount Abu

one with the universal soul. Early Buddhist teaching was apparently in contrast with such a conception. The idea of the reality of a universal spirit or of an eternal ego was conceived to have no bearing on the attainment of the goal of Buddhism, redemption from suffering. Most of the deities of the Brahmanical pantheon,[69] so far as they were at all considered, became regarded as a type of supernatural existence needing redemption equally with men. But in the course of the development of the religion great changes took place in the forms of expression, especially in the Mahayana schools of northern Buddhism. The inclusion of the name "the Buddha" as one of the three "jewels" or "refuges," must have itself tended to raise this figure into a unique position, as it is also an expression of such elevation. Such great reverence is shown even in the Hinayana schools, but though the nature of the Buddha was one of the points of controversy[70], there seems no prominent tendency to accord the Buddha a position of metaphysical eminence. But the terms used indicate the extent to which this was carried in the Mahayana schools. Besides this idealisation of the Buddha there appears to have been also a tendency towards a type of universal idealism, and possibly a *rapprochement* between the two.[71]

The impression of a type of idealistic universal One

---

69. The term *Brahma* is however often used in its more usual Indian sense: "The Supreme, the Mighty, the All-seeing, the Ruler, the Lord, the Maker, the Creator Chief of All, appointing to each his place, the Ancient of days, Father of all that are and are to be:" Rhys Davids: *Dialogues of the Buddha* i. p. 31. On the gods see A. Getty; *The Gods of Northern Buddhism.* Oxford 1914.

70. See *Katha—Vatthu:* or *Points of Controversy:* trs Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids. 1915. ref. p, xiv. also *Milinda-Panho:* or *Questions of King Milinda:* trs. Max Muller. 1890. Bk.iv.

71. Perhaps the two coalesce in a way in the doctrine of *Adi-Buddha* concerning which see ERE. vol, I,

may be illustrated from a few passages: "There is, O Bhikkhus, an unborn, unoriginated, uncreated, unformed. Were there not, O Bhikkhus, this unborn, unoriginated, uncreated, unformed, there would be no escape from the world of the born, the originated, created, formed." "The idea 'Buddha' implies neither coming from anywhere, nor going to anywhere." "The blessed Buddha in his essential absolute nature is changeless and everlasting." "I am not to be perceived by means of any visible form, nor sought after by means of any audible sound. Whosoever walks in the way of impurity cannot perceive the blessedness of the Buddha." The expression "Eternal Soul" is used, as also the "One Mind." Thus "It is said the One Mind, Buddha, and all living beings are really one, the results of causes and conditions." "Hence we say the three states: One Mind, Buddhas, and all beings are one without any difference." "To ascertain the precise point when they (causal influences) come and when they go we must look for that in the Supreme Nature of the First Cause, and beyond that we can ascertain nothing." So again reference is made to the "universally diffused and mysterious being of Tathagata." And eventually a position similar to that of the Upanishads is again reached: "This great assembly perceived that each one's heart was co-extensive with the universe,.....all things in the universe are all alike, merely the excellently bright and primeval Heart of Bodhi, and that this heart is universally diffused, and comprehends all things within itself."[72]

72. *Udana:* trs D. M. Strong 1902 p. viii 3; *Prajna-Paramita:* or *The Diamond Sutra:* trs W. Gemmell 1912. introd. xxv quoting Yuen Chioh Sutra.; p. 100; p. 65: *Hsuan Fo Pu* or *Guide to Buddhahood:* trs. T. Richard, Shanghai 1907 vi. p. 36; ix. p. 65–6; xiii. p. 91; S. Beal: *Catena.* pp. 331; 341: 343; T. Richard, *New Testament of Higher Buddhism.* Edin. 1910 p. 106 et seq.; *Saddharma Pundarika:* or *Lotus of the Good Law,* trs

The correlate tendency on the side of practical religion may be seen in the terms applied to the Buddha and in the veneration depicted in Buddhist sculptures. He is the "great hero", "the leader", the illuminator, the seer, the saint, the blessed one, the world honoured, the exalted one, the master, the supreme of men: and more, the lord, the light of the world, the chief of the world, the supreme Buddha, the perfect one, the self-born; indeed, the god of gods. "So am I the Father of the world, the Self-born, the Healer, the Protector of all creatures. Knowing them to be perverted, infatuated and ignorant, I teach final rest, myself not being at rest." He is all-wise, his enlightenment being supreme and perfect, and it has been so for eternity. He is "the master of the world including the gods...the giver of comfort...worshipped by men and gods." They "will worship him as 'The Great One that hath transcended Time'; nor is there in the world with its gods any One thy equal." The gods appeal to him to teach the Way to men. So his birth becomes transfigured with all the glory of that of an avatar, an incarnation. "The Chief of the world appears in the world to reveal the Buddha-knowledge." Further, it is he who "from the very beginning has aroused, brought to maturity, fully developed them (the Bodhisattvas Mahasattvas so immense in number) to be fit for this Bodhisattva position."[73]

H. Kern 1884. ch. xv. See also D. T. Suzuki: *Outlines of Mahayana Buddhism* 1907.

73. *Saddharma Pundarika*: vii 54; x 1; xiv 1; xii 31; xv; ii, 54; xvii m; *Iti-vuttaka:* trs. J. H. Moore. 112. p. 133; *Buddha karita* of Asvaghosha: trs. E. B. Cowell 1894. i. 1; xiv. 82, 86; xvi 75, 77; *Sukharati-vyuha:* trs Max Muller 1894 iv. 3, 4; T. Richard: *Guide.* iii. 13; Gemmell: *Diamond Sutra* 3. See also G. K. Nariman: *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism* Bombay 1920 ch. iv on *Lalitavistara*, and pp. 17; 110. H. Kern: *Saddharma Pundarika*, introd. xxv. says "The conclusion arrived at is that the Sakyamuni of the Lotus is an ideal, a personification, not a person." Yet p. 301n he says "Sakyamuni is,

Although there have been tendencies to pantheistic conceptions in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, these with Zoroastrianism have a definitely theistic character.

For Zarathustra, faith in God and his conception of him are fundamental: his description must be accepted as central and normative for the Zoroastrian religion. If we are justified in taking the *Gathas* alone as truly representing his position we can say without demur that it is monotheistic. But some of the later writings, as for example the *Yasts*, suggest similarity with what is generally called Polytheism.[74] The appearance of Polytheism is avoided in later Parsi thought by describing super-human beings other than God as angels and arch-angels. The supremacy of Ahura Mazda remains the general impression. Here we are concerned with him alone.

---

in reality, the one everlasting brahma." Dr. Richard seems to consider the Buddha as though accepted as an incarnation of deity and thus describes the position of the Mahayana: "Its new doctrines were that of the One Soul immanent for good in all the universe, that of a Divine Helper of men, of individual immortality and growth in the likeness of God, of the importance of faith in God to produce good works, and that of the willingness of the best spirits to make sacrifices to save others." *New Testament of Higher Buddhism.* p. 38. But Suzuki, op. cit. ch. ix considers the idealised Buddha as the same as personified Dharmakaya or Body of the Law, "who"is "revealing himself in all times and all places" p. 273.

74. Thus in Yasna IV. 16; VI. 10: VII. 13, Ahura and Mithra are mentioned together as "the lofty, imperishable and holy two." Mithra is "a god invoked in his own name". Sirozah 11. 16. It may be said with good grounds that the description of Mithra given in the Mihir Yast is more elaborate that any extant composition concerning Ahura Mazda. In XXXV 145 of that Yast Mithra is mentioned first with Ahura, "Mithra and Ahura, the two great imperishable holy Gods". In the Ashi Yast Ahura Mazda is described as the greatest and best of all the gods. Yet he offers sacrifices and asks a boon of Vayu (Rama Hsastra. Rama Yast), and also to Mithra (Mihir Yast XXXI. 123). Nevertheless Ahura says "verily when I created Mithra". (Mihir Yt. 1.)

Ahura Mazda is " the wise Lord ", the spirit of wisdom, the first and the last, the immutable, the eternal. He is " an intangible spirit ", self-subsisting, a spirit among spirits. He clothes himself with the massy heavens as with a garment. He is the radiant, the glorious, the most felicitous, the most high, the creator of all things, of the material world and of selves. He created nothing useless. He is the strong one, the great, attaining his ends the most infallibly, the good sovereign, the king. The worshipper recognises his righteous order, his good mind and sovereign power. His sovereignty is absolute. The all-seeing, the all-pervading, he is also the protector, the keeper, the maintainer. He is perfect in holiness. He is the righteous judge, the just. " The will of the Lord is the law of holiness. " He is the Lord to judge the actions of life. He will separate the wise and the unwise through Right. His wisdom is boundless : he is the wisest of the wise. He is supreme in omniscience and goodness, unrivalled in splendour. He knows men's secret sins and is not to be deceived: he knows the future. He is the beneficent, the healer, destroying malice and making peace. He sends his joy-creating grace afar. He is the gracious helper, who nourishes us. His nature is compassionate and merciful. " The complete capability of the almighty creator is the wiping away of anguish. "[75]

The six Amesha Spentas (sometimes Ahura Mazda himself, sometimes Sraosh is added and seven thus made),

75. M. N. Dhalla (Zoroastrian high priest for north west India) *Zoroastrian Theology* 1914 is the only good general statement of the subject and is indispensable. Yasna xxxi 8 ; Sad dar; Shayast la Shayast 372 ; Sikard Gummik Vigar I. 116. also Dadistan-i-Dinik ; Yasna xxx 5 ; Ormazd Yt 12 ; Yasna 44 ; Bahman Yt 196 ; Ys. xxxi 11 ; Bundahis 74 ; Ormazd Yt. 7 ; Ys. i. 1 Ormazd Yt. 13 ; 8 ; Ys. xlv. 4 ; Haptan Yt. 5 ; Ormazd Yt. 15 ; Bundahis 3 ; Ys. xxxi. 13 ; Ys. xxxiii 13 ; Ormazd Yt. 14 ; Ys. lxx 1; Aban Yt. xxi 85 ; Sikard p. 167 ; 158.

in post-Gathic literature treated as spirits, may be regarded as personified qualities of God.[76] Asha represents the divine order, the reign of law, righteousness; Vohu Manah is good thought, the wisdom which is the root of good words and deeds; Khshathra expresses the divine power and the glory of his kingship; Aramaiti, Haurvatat, and Ameretat are the chief divine gifts, piety or devotion, health and prosperity here, and everlasting life.

Abraham and the Jewish patriarchs have a distinct faith in God as a personal sovereign and friend, giving them commands and solace and watching over them. The representation is frequently anthropomorphic, as when God appeared as man to Abraham on the plain of Mamre. At the time of Moses, God is represented rather as a tribal deity, or a god of the soil dwelling on Mt. Sinai. He leads them in battle, and rules them in peace. The tradition which makes Moses the transmitter of the Decalogue at least suggests that the relation between the Israelites and God was from the earliest times conceived as ethical. After the Israelites had settled to agricultural pursuits in the land they had conquered their conception of God took something of the character of the local Ba'alim. He was regarded as owner or lord of the land, the giver of rain, and the source of fertility. The trait of wrath indicated (as in the command to destroy utterly the Amalekites) has the nature of

76. This is suggested not only by the names and functions but also by the fact that "Thy thought" is used similarly with "Good thought." J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism* 1913. p. 97 says "they seem to be essentially part of his one being, attributes of the divine, endowed with a vague measure of separate existence for the purpose of bringing out the truth for which they severally stand." Yet as he says "The Amesha spentas are within the deity, essential parts of the divine." See Ys. 47. 1. Asha and Vohu Manah are the most important in the Zoroastrian Scripture. In the Yasts Ahura Mazda proclaims himself the creator of Haurvatat and Ameretat.

anger against moral wrong.

The great Jewish prophets were most concerned to insist on the moral nature of God and of his demands on the children of Israel. They opposed the use of images because they failed to represent living personality. The question is asked: To whom will ye liken God? The so called " gods " of other peoples were described as only powerless images, and thus a step was taken for the clearer enunciation of a definite monotheism, and a recognition of the extent of divine power and judgment. The whole presentment of the history of the Israelites in the historical books, and the teaching of most of the prophets is of a God who is actively participating in the history of humanity. In important crises his presence is especially felt. As the power controlling the course of history he is able to foretell events and to bring men to a knowledge of his character. The psalmists express most deeply and beautifully the feelings of men in relation to God, and the conception of God as present in religious experience. The so-called Wisdom literature embodies the results of non-Hebrew influences, possibly Greek. Wisdom is present in creation, and the transcendence of God is emphasised.[77]

The impression of the nature of God obtained from the Hebrew scriptures may be briefly described in their own words. There is no God but him. He is the first and the last, who changeth not. He is from everlasting to everlasting. He is the most high, the Lord of lords, the God of heaven and earth. Though omnipresent, he can be likened to nothing in the heavens or on earth. He is the creator and the sustainer. He killeth and he maketh alive. We are the clay: he is the potter. He is the great God, the mighty, the terrible. He is the Lord of hosts, who triumphs

77. K. Kohler: *Jewish Theology*. New York, 1918 is an excellent survey. See also A. B. Davidson: op cit. and C. G. Montefiore, Hibbert Lectures. 1892.

gloriously. He fainteth not, nor is weary. The Lord sitteth king for ever and ever. He is the everlasting king who dwelleth on high. Though the heaven of heaven cannot contain him, heaven is his throne and earth his footstool. He is the holy one: he sitteth on the throne of his holiness. His way is perfect. The heavens declare his glory and the firmament his handiwork. He rules the raging of the sea, and when the waves thereof arise, he stills them.[7 8]

The Lord is a God of knowledge. Wisdom is his. His "counsels of old are faithfulness and truth". He is the giver of wisdom and understanding. Yet "the Lord seeth not as man seeth, for man looketh on the outward appearance, but the Lord looketh on the heart". "I, the Lord search the heart, I try the reins, even to give to every man according to his ways, according to the fruit of his doings". No thought can be withholden from him. The wisdom and knowledge here implied is predominently ethical in character. He is the law giver. He is righteous: by him actions are weighed. He is the just: God omnipotent cannot be unjust. He is swift as the waters. The expressions "the fierce anger," "fury", the "vengeance" of God are to be understood as due to his indignation at wickedness. The Lord is a jealous god who will take vengeance on his enemies. Yet though men be consumed by his anger, he does not despise a broken and a contrite heart. He is a god, "ready to pardon, gracious and merciful, slow to anger and of great kindness". He shows mercy to those who love him and keep his commandments. The service he requires is a righteous life. He blots out transgressions. He is full of compass-

78. Deuteronomy iv. 39; vi. 4, 5; Isaiah xliv. 6; Malachi iii. 6; Psalms xc. 2; Numbers xxiv. 16; Ps. l. 14; Deut x. 17; Genesis xix. 19; Jeremiah xxii. 24; Deut x. 17, vii. 21; Is xlii. 5; I Samuel ii. 6; Is lxiv. 8; Nehemiah i. 4, ix 32; Exodus xv. 1; II Samuel vii. 27; Is. xl-28; Ps. xxiv. 10; Jer. x. 10; I Kings viii. 7; Is. lxvi; Ps. xlvii. 8; II Sam. xxii. 31; Ps. xix. 1; Ps. lxxxix. 9.

ion, long-suffering and plenteous in mercy and truth. "His soul grieved for the misery of Israel", "in all their affliction, he was afflicted". The earth is full of the goodness of the Lord: his mercy endureth for ever. The soul of the righteous thirsts for the living God whose loving-kindness is before his eyes. For the Lord is good, a stronghold in the day of trouble. He is a rock, fortress, shield, saviour, deliverer and redeemer. He is our shepherd, and we shall not want. He is our father to be served with joyfulness and gladness of heart, and worshipped in the beauty of holiness. He is a God of love and pity, who calls: "Yea, I have loved thee with an everlasting love: therefore with loving kindness have I drawn thee". He requires love from others: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy might". He will wipe away all tears; he will rejoice over thee with joy; he will rest in his love; he will keep him in perfect peace whose mind is stayed on him.[79]

As Christianity arose out of the religion of the Jews, the Hebrew scriptures are included in its sacred canon, and the description of God given in those writings with modifications forms part of that to be accepted as the Christian conception. The fundamental difference lies in the fact of the New Testament teaching of the incarnation of God in the flesh.[80] The Hebrew scriptures speak of God appearing

79. I Sam. ii. 3; Daniel ix. 22; Is. xxv. 1; I Sam. xvi. 7; Jer. xvii. 10; Job. xlii. 2; Is. xiii 13; Neh. ix. 32; Job. xxxiv 10; xxiv. 18; Jer. xxx. 24; Is. xxxvi.; Jer. l. 28; Nahum. i. 2; Ps. xc. 7; Ps. li. 17; Micah vii. 18; Joel ii. 13; Neh. ix. 17; Deut. vii. 7; Is. xliii. 11; Ex. xxxiv. 6; Judges x. 16; Is. lviii. 7; Ps. xxxiii. 3; Ps. cvii. xlii. 2; Ps. xxvi. 3; Neh. i. 7; II Sam. xxii. 21; Deut. xxxii. 4; Ps. xxiii. 1; Deut. xxviii. 47; I Chronicles xvi. 29; Ps. lxviii.; Jer. xxxi. 3; Is. lxiii. 7; Deut. vi. 5, 5; Is. xxv. 8; Zephaniah iii. 17; Is. xxvi. 3.

80. The important doctrine of the Messiah in Judaism and its relation to Christian ideas of the incarnation in Jesus

in the form of a man, but not that "the Word became flesh and dwelt amongst us." In the New Testament (as in the Christian theology generally) the incarnation is regarded not merely as a means to reveal the nature of God, but also as an essential factor in the divine relations with mankind, intimately connected with human salvation from sin and the realisation of the love of God in human hearts and conduct. God, as known and experienced in the incarnation in Jesus, is described as love. "God is love." This is the central conception implied also by the chief other terms used. The Fatherhood of God and the sonship of man are the most frequent titles, clearly embodying the root idea.[81] The character of god as loving and lovable personality as manifested in the incarnation in Jesus is to be seen not merely in his life and teaching but also in his suffering. The Christian idea of god is of a Father who endures suffering in constituting his kingdom as a realm of free personalities.[82]

In addition to the conception of God as incarnate in Jesus, the New Testament gives a characteristic place and function to the "Holy Spirit". The expression is found twice in the Hebrew scriptures, and taken in relation with later Rabbinical teaching the most intelligible explanation of its use in early Christianity is the immanence of God in the world. Though the expressions of the New Testament show more philosophical insight than the Hebrew scriptures, it hardly seems necessary to maintain that they demand the later development of the metaphysical doctrine of

should not be forgotten. See V. H. Stanton: *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah.* Edin. 1886.

81. John I. 14. Cf. I John IV. 16; I John III. 1; Hebrews XII. 7; Romans VIII; Ephesians IV. 6; Luke XXIII. 40.

82. See T. B. Strong: *A Manual of Theology* 1913; W. N. Clarke: *The Christian Doctrine of God* 1909; J. Moffatt, *The Theology of the Gospels* 1912. J. F. Bethune Baker: *The Early History of Christian Doctrine.* 1903.

trinity in the unity of the godhead. The writers never occupied themselves with the need of a differentiated ultimate. Their language is concerned with a moral and a religious relationship of personalities,–of Jesus (and all others) to God and of God to all.[83]

God is "the Alpha and Omega, which is, and which was, and which is to come." He sitteth on the throne of heaven and liveth for ever and ever. He is the king eternal, incorruptible, invisible, the only God. He is the blessed, the only Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords, who only hath immortality, dwelling in light unapproachable, whom no man hath seen, nor can see, to whom be honour and power eternal. One day with the Lord is as a thousand years and a thousand years as one day. He is the "Father of lights, with whom can be no variation nor shadow of turning." He is "the Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all". The heavenly Father is perfect: his power is everlasting. He made the heaven and the earth and the sea. It is impossible to frustrate his plans. Being Lord of heaven and earth, he dwelleth not in temples made with hands. He is the living God, the God of the living, the God of glory, of patience and peace, of grace, comfort and hope.[84]

83. See J. Abelson: *The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature*. 1912 and H. B. Swete: *The Holy Spirit in the New Testament* 1909. The doctrine of the Trinity is thus expressed in the Anglican Articles: "There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the Maker, and Preserver of all things both visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead there be three Persons, of one substance, power and eternity; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." The doctrine has been and is one of endless discussion. It has been made almost the chief object of attack by Muslim critics of Christianity, but it is interesting to note that a common idea amongst these has been that the Trinity is: God the Father, Miriam *(Mary)*, and Jesus.

84. Cf. Revelation I. 8; IV. 9. I Timothy I. 17; VI. 15;

"God is a spirit: and they that worship him must worship in spirit and in truth." He is true: his word is truth. His spirit will guide man into all truth. Knowing all, he has foreknowledge. "O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!" He knoweth the heart.[85]

The judgment of God is righteous: he will render to every man according to his works. Nevertheless "the Most High is kind toward the unthankful and the evil". "He maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust." The goodness of God leadeth to repentance, and he forgives those who forgive others. Grace, mercy, every good gift and every perfect boon come from him. He deals with men as with sons. "Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us that we should be called the children of God". "God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish but have everlasting life." Jesus is the incarnation of God as embodying divine love. St. Paul writes of "the love of God which is in Christ Jesus," and further "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself." God is our saviour who will fill us with joy and peace. It is the peacemakers who will be called sons of God, and the pure in heart who shall see him.[86]

The Muslim conception of God as found in the Quran

16; II Peter III. 8; James I. 17: Ephesians IV. 6: Matthew V. 48: Romans I. 20: Acts V. 39; XVII. 24; Matthew XXII. 32: I Peter V. 10: John I. 14: Romans XV. 13.

85. Cf. John IV, 24: III. 33, XVII. 17, XVI. 13: Matthew x. 29, 30; Acts II. 23; Romans XI. 33; Acts XV. 8.

86. Cf. Romans II. 6; Luke VI. 35; Matthew V. 45; Romans II. 4; IX 15; I Timothy VI. 17; James I. 17; I John III. 1; John III. 19; Romans VIII. 39; II Corinthians V. 18; Matthew V.

has marked similarities with the Hebrew. This may be partly due to the fact that the Arabs, as the Hebrews, are Semitic by race and also to Jewish influences direct or indirect on the thought of Mahomet. There are undoubted evidences of a development of the idea of God in the Quran, but they are not so distinct as those found in the Hebrew literature which extends over a much greater period of time. The conception is characterised by its simplicity and force. It is not presented in a philosophical manner, yet it is urged as consistent with reason, and as of vital importance to practical conduct. Like other theistic views it is predominantly ethical. Thus, the fundamental doctrine of the unity of God, so persistently taught in the Quran, is not important for any special value in unity over plurality, but that those who "associate others with God" deprive him of worship and service due to him.[87]

There is no God but him: to associate others with him is the worst of all possible sins. He is one, is the One. He is eternal, self-subsistent, self-sufficient. There is no variableness in the way of God. He is the living one, unbegotten and unbegetting, who dieth not. "Nor slumber seizeth him, nor sleep." There is none like unto him, and any attempt to represent him in visible form is futile and forbidden. He is the creator, the most excellent of makers, who ordereth all things. His activity is purposive and continuous. Creation is for a serious end and a fixed term. "Every day doth some new work employ Him." He is the sole sustainer. He is the supreme, the Lord of worlds, the Lord of the heavens and the earth and all that is between them. He is the Lord of the east and the west; Lord of the throne and of men. He is king, full of majesty and

87. No adequate treatment of Muslim Theology yet exists in English, but D. B. Macdonald: *Muslim Theology* 1903 gives a very good brief sketch. Almost all the chapters of the Quran contain reference to some attribute or attributes of God; See e. g. lix, 22-24.

glory. He is the glorious, the exalted, the most high, the strong, the rich, the bounteous, the praiseworthy. In his creation is order: disorder he loveth not. "He hath given laws to the sun and to the moon, so that each journeyeth to its appointed goal." Those who have faith will see signs of him in Nature.[88]

Of the attributes of God most frequently mentioned in the Quran, three are very prominent: His mercy, power, wisdom and knowledge. The contention of many Western writers that Islam emphasises the power of God to the overshadowing of other qualities does not seem justifiable. Even a simple enumeration of the terms used in the Quran will show that his mercy, compassion, love, and forgiveness predominate. He is the God of mercy, "the best of those who show mercy." He is kind, indulgent, the compassionate, the merciful, long-suffering, the receiver of penitence and the very forgiving. All blessings are from God who is good, the generous Lord, the most beneficent. "Despair not of God's mercy, for none but the unbelieving despair of the mercy of God." "Despair not of God's mercy, for all sins doth God forgive." He is the true who will judge mankind. He enjoineth justice, and will not deal unjustly with anyone. He is the swift in reckoning, the judge who will reward men according to their deeds. He is the protector of the righteous. On the other hand, he is a God with vengeance, vehement in chastisement, swift to punish,—"with him is terrible retribution". The near at hand, "God is not regardless of what ye do". But he is the hearer of prayer, the guardian of his servants, the source of help and the object of trust. He is the friend of the bereaved and the consoler of the afflicted, the shelterer of the orphan and the guide of the erring. The author of peace, he invites mankind to the abode of peace.

88. See *Quran*: ch. ii. iii. xx. xxi. xxvi. xxx. xxxv. xxxviii. xlii. xliv. xlv. lv. lxxx. cxii.

" Peace, " is the greeting which shall be heard in paradise. Islam is the religion of peace which comes by submission to God.[89]

God is the source of all power. " There is no power but in God ", He is the mighty, the potent, the great; " God is not frustrated by aught in the heavens or in the earth ". By his power and his knowledge " the future and the present are in his hand ". " In his knowledge he embraceth all things " : he knoweth their past and their future; unto God is the issue of all things. He is the truth, the wise, the knowing, the all-informed. The inner secrets of the heart and all that men do are manifest to him. Human knowledge depends upon him : for " we have no knowledge but what thou hast given us to know ".[90]

The Sikh conception of God undoubtedly through Kabir and otherwise owes much to Muslim influence. There is an opposition to Polytheism and to the representation of the divine in physical form. But the religion has roots in Hinduism and Upanishadic forms of expression are used again and again in its literature. Nevertheless, God is here not an object of meditative contemplation but of a strong personal faith. " There is but one God, whose name is true, the Creator, devoid of fear and enmity, immortal, unborn, self - existent, great and bountiful ". " Within each body the Supreme Lord is concealed and within each the whole light is His ". God also is an ideal towards which human effort must always strive, for : " If anyone becomes as high as the Lord, he alone will be able to know him. "[91]

---

89. See *Quran* : ch. xi. xii. xiv. xvi. xix. xx. xxv. xxxviii. xl. xliii. xlvii. lxxiii.

90. See *Quran* : ch. xii. xiv. xvi. xviii. xx. xxvi. xxx. xxxviii xl. xliv.

91. Macauliffe : op. cit. I. 35 ; K. Singh. op. cit. pp. 394; 389,

Considering that both man and infra-human beings have sex differentiations, and that in most languages differences of gender are found, it is not strange that supernatural beings have also been considered as of different sexes. The preceding pages have referred in general, though not exclusively, to the masculine deities, or those with epithets so qualifying, such a "Father" and so on. That little space can be here given to consideration of the feminine aspects is not meant to imply that they have played an insignificant part in human religion. Indeed, it appears that most religions have developed ideas or practices in this direction, suggesting therein a distinctive side of religious needs and ideals. It is significant in the first place that the earth and the earth spirit have generally been regarded as feminine. In this there may be an effect of the distinction of the impression of *Mana* as felt by men in themselves and in each other as contrasted with the less powerful force of which women give the impression. There is thus a natural feeling of domination in man as compared with woman, and the sky seems in similar manner to dominate the earth. But again, there is also another similarity between the earth and the female: it is from the earth that new vegetation springs forth as the young come from the mother. So the earth was the original Mother goddess, as the sky was the heavenly Father.[92]

The systematising tendency of the human mind, following out the implications of anthropomorphism, has associated this or that goddess with a particular deity as wife, or occasionally as daughter or sister. Not infrequently there appears something of artificial system-making in such representations, as though the idea of the goddess has been supplied to fill a felt gap in the scheme. In such instances, and even when the goddess has a definite significance and

92. See *ante* pp. 87–89.

Goddess Worship in South India

personal standing of her own, she is little more than a faint counterpart of the associated god.[93]

It is an interesting psychological fact that the wife often has feelings which may be described as maternal towards the husband, and that the husband feels the reality of such sentiments. Perhaps such relationship denotes more than a merely passing characteristic of the life of the soul: it may be an expression and a partial satisfaction of a deeper need of the same type. Some empirical facts of the religions point in such a direction. In early Buddhism there is nothing which shows this character, but it is remarkable that Avalokiteshvara becomes transfigured in the Buddhism of China and Japan into the "goddess" Kwanyin (Kwannon) with the attributes essentially of compassion and mercy. In Christianity, not merely is the mother of Jesus regarded with reverence, but she has attained a place in the affections and religious life of large portions of Christendom, second only to (in some instances perhaps equal with) that of Jesus himself. Not merely do her images call forth the solace of maternal beatitude but she is prayed to earnestly by souls in sorrow.[94]

There can be little doubt that the most outstanding cults of the feminine in religion have been those of the Mediterranean coasts at the time of Roman power,[95] and

93. Steindorff: *Religion of Ancient Egypt.* p. 50. "Here, too, we find four male divinities paired each with a goddess invented expressly to be his companion. The gods are; Nu, Hehu, Kek, and Nunu; the goddesses: Nut, Hehut, Keket, and Nunet." Rogers: *Religion of Babylonia*: p. 85. Ishtar the great mother goddess is able to stand alone: other female deities are no more than pale reflections of the male deity.

94. On Kwanyin see A. Getty : op. cit. also S. Beal *Catena.*

95. L. R. Farnell; *Higher Aspects of Greek Religion.* p. 9. says the most striking figure of Minoan worship was a great goddess conceived mainly as a mother, and ethnically related to the Phrygian Cybele. The Theban women prayed to Aphrodite

those of Hinduism and especially the indigenous Indian cults included in that general term. The character of the rites and the seasons of the special festivals suggest that the Indian Mother goddess (or goddesses) was originally associated with fertility and vegetation. In the course of development the goddess has been given other attributes and in the height of religious fervour has been accorded supremacy. The two short hymns to the goddess which follow will be sufficient example of this :

" I shall never forget Her who is the giver of happiness;
She it is, O Mother, who, in the form of the Moon,
Creates the world full of sounds and their meanings,
And again, by Her power in the form of the Sun,
She it is who maintains the world.
And she, again, it is who, in the form of fire, destroys
the whole universe at the end of the ages.
Men worship Thee under various names –
As Narayana; as She who saves from the ocean of Hell,
As Gauri; as the allayer of grief; as Sarasvati;
And as the three-eyed giver of knowledge.

* * * *

as " the first mother of the race (i. e. of Thebans) for from thy blood we are sprung." The term *patroa* (ancestress) applied by the Sicyonians to Artemis he considers " as an appellative" which merely expressed " the affectionate sense of kinship between the goddess and her people. " p. 72. The Phrygian Cybele introduced into Rome was goddess of the earth, also described as the Great Mother. See F. Cumont : *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism.* Chicago 1911. 47f. Thus *Livy:* Bk. XXIX, records the incident of bringing to Rome from Phrygia the sacred stone "which the natives said was the mother of the gods. " " Marcus Valerius Falto was sent ahead by the ambassadors and he announced that the goddess was coming and that the best man in the state should be sent out to receive her with due ceremony. " It seems according to Lucius, that Isis assimilated to herself the goddesses of the Mediterranean basin see F. Legge : *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity.* Cambridge 1915. I. p. 56.

O Devi Mahalakshmi !
Thou art the supreme Brahman,
The ever-pervading Atman.
Thou art the great lord
And Mother of the world.
O Mahalakshmi ! salutation to Thee.[96]

It would be difficult, if at all possible, to discover a religion in which there is no belief in beings higher than men but lower than the supreme spirit. The so-called minor departmental deities, and even some of the spirits of the great Nature powers, have as a paralled to them in monotheistic religions, the angels and arch-angels. Reference has already been made to the Amesha Spentas of Zoroastrianism, who sometimes appear as though themselves personal spirits, in a way arch-angels. The Yazatas, or angels of Zoroastrianism, are personifications of abstract ideas or virtues or of objects of Nature, and have functional tasks in relation to the spheres of the world and life which they suggest. They are praised by men and invoked in sacrifices.[97] There is also another term in Zoroastrian scriptures: *Fravashis*, which has been variously interpreted. It may mean a type of higher intelligences, acting as guardian spirits of mankind. These also receive sacrifices and adoration: they are good, and bestow on men victory and health.[98] The belief in angels is distinctly evident in the Hebrew scriptures. At times in the earlier books "the angel of God" seems to mean a manifestation of Jehovah himself, but the idea of angels as separate individualities is also present. Possibly due to Zoroastrian influences, the doctrine of angels was

96. A. Avalon : *Hymns to the Goddess*. 1913 pp. 23, 45, 30, 170. The whole work should be studied. See later, chapter V.

97. See M. M. Dhalla : *Zoroastrian Theology*. ch. xxiv for a general detailed survey.

98. See Dhalla : ibid : ch. xxv. also Moulton : *Early Zoroastrianism*. ch. viii.

developed after the Exile, and (somewhat as the Amesha Spentas) inner aspects of the godhead appear as personified. A reflection of this is seen in the expression concerning the "seven spirits of god" contained in the book of *Revelation* admitted into the Christian canon.[99] Angels were considered as of different nature from men, being as we may suppose, free from the usual human form of matter although at times manifesting in such a form. Christianity took over from Judaism the belief in angels, and recognises different grades. The names of two are given: Gabriel, an arch-angel who announced the coming birth of Jesus; and Michael, an arch-angel, who is "the prince of Israel." Islam also contains the belief in angels. Jibrail (the Hebrew and Christian Gabriel) was the bringer of the word of God to the Prophet. Izrail receives the souls of dying persons; Israfil will blow the trumpet on the last day; and Mikail sees that all created beings are provided with substance. The throne of God is supported by eight angels, and, one is on each side of every man recording his good and evil. In the Quran there is mentioned a type of beings called *Jinn* created from "fire" who listen to the Quran.[100] The Sikhs have a belief in an angel of death, Azrail, who inflicts punishment in accordance with the commands of god.[101] In Mahayana Buddhism the Bodhisattvas have the character of beings higher than ordinary human beings of the earth, and they concern themselves, as

99. *Revelation V.* 6.

100. The term jina has been variously understood. Literally it means "hidden". See *Quran* xv. 27 as to their creation from fire. They may have been non-Israelitish mountain tribes subject to Solomon and forced into his service. *Quran* xxxiv. 12-16.; cf. II *Chron.* ii. 12-18; or the leaders of some tribes who secretly listened to the Quran, *Quran* xi. 29; lii; vide Razi's *Commentary*; or again simply uncivilized nomads. *Quran* li. 56.

101. K. Singh: *History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion* Lahore 1914 II. p. 441.

good angels in other systems, with the welfare of mankind.

Not merely the duality of heaven and earth, but also that of light and darkness has impressed mankind, and if joy and gladness have been associated with the former so have gloom and fear with the latter. The sense of conflict of Nature powers, and of this conflict or its results as affecting man, has been widespread in Simple Nature-worship. But the character of the effects of Nature powers on man's life is not always consistent: the sun, generally beneficial, at times makes life painful and withers the crops. The gloomy dark clouds may bring refreshing rain or a raging destructive torrent. A similar inconsistency is apparent in the stage of Animism. The spirits sometimes appear friendly, sometimes inimical, to man. One evident example of the distinction is that due to conflict of people with people: the spirits or gods of each became regarded as friendly gods when there was no conflict, and otherwise as demons or devils respectively. So the term *daeva* which for Hinduism denotes a god, generally good, became among the Zoroastrians the expression for evil spirits.[102] The distinction of good and evil spirits obtained greater fixity in its expression in independent terms.

The belief in evil spirits has had a marked effect upon religious practices and on the feelings of peoples. The propitiation of an evil spirit or one predominantly so is the best explanation of many types of offering. Such propitiation probably lies behind much of the village worship in India. Dr. Harrison even goes so far as to maintain that in the sixth and possibly the fifth century B. C. the real religion of the majority of the Greeks was associated with beings mainly malevolent, and was meant to ward

102. Cf. In similar strain: Cook: *Zeus* p. 135 "Pergamon, whose altar to Zeus we have already considered, is described in the Revelation of St. John the Divine as the place 'where Satan's throne is.'"

them off.[103] In Japan it was thought possible to ward off evil spirits by throwing peaches, as amongst the pilgrims at Mecca evil spirits are warded off by throwing stones. Amongst the Babylonians evil spirits are from the under-world, beings of darkness carrying out their work at night. Some were originally "storm gods" or again sicknesses or the spirits of sicknesses, or perchance the ghosts of the dead whose death had been associated with unhappy and unusual circumstances.[104] In Japanese mythology the evil spirit takes the form of a wicked eight-headed serpent.[105] In similar manner as a serpent, Satan appeared to Eve, according to the Hebrew *Genesis*. In Hindu mythology the Rakshakas or demons play a definite part: thus Vishnu was incarnated in the form of a boar in order to slay a demon. Mara, the tempter appears to be conceived of as an evil spirit who endeavoured to keep the Buddha from preaching his doctrine to mankind. And to judge by the devil masks from Tibet it would seem that the idea of evil spirits has remained a definite one in some forms of Buddhism. Although in the *Gathas* Ahriman is mentioned only once and the idea of the activity of evil spirits is virtually absent, in later developments, in Zoroastrianism for every good spirit there appears to be an evil spirit. This may have been due to influence coming from the direction of Babylon, and similarly directly or by influence from Zoroastrianism the idea may have come into Judaism and Christianity. Thus at the time of Jesus, it appears not only that a "legion" of evil spirits could be conceived as embodied in one human body, but as being able

103. *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion.* Cambridge 1908.

104. J. Morgenstein: *The Doctrine of Sin in Babylonian Religion.* Berlin 1905 pp. 7. 8. 14. Cf. R. W. Rogers: *Religion of Babylonia.* p. 75.

105. *Nihongi* I. 52 et seq.

to leave it and enter a herd of swine. Again Jesus is represented as being taken to the top of a high mountain and shown the kingdoms of the world and so tempted by the devil. Iblis is referred to in the Quran and is accepted in Islam as an evil spirit. It is, however, interesting to note that the idea has become current among Christians that Satan was originally a good spirit, but became evil in revolting against God. Similarly in Islam Iblis is supposed to have fallen from goodness in disobedience to god. In Greek mythology there is a story of how Pandora in disobedience to the command of the gods, opened the box out of which evil then came to mankind.

The attempts to meet the problem of evil by the idea of radical dualism of opposed spirits achieved only a limited success. Even the unreflective many have needed to believe that the good spirit has power to overcome the evil, and although they may not often definitely ascribe evil to him, they believe it must exist with his sanction. With the development of genuine monotheism, and with the requirement of conceiving the world and its happenings as predominantly a unity, men have been led to ascribe evil to god. Even in the *Iliad* we have the passage: "What could I do? It is god who accomplishes all. Eldest daughter of Zeus, Ate, who blindeth all, a power of bane: delicate are her feet, for not upon earth she goeth, but walketh over the heads of men and entangleth this one and that." And Theognis says: "Hybris, insolence, or sin, is the first and greatest evil and god is its author."[106] The Hebrew scriptures have little reference to an evil spirit, but there are suggestions that evil is caused by god. "I form the light and create darkness: I make peace and create evil." He is not merely the creator: he is also

106. James Adam: *The Vitality of Platonism and Other Essays.* Cambridge 1911 pp. 198; 200–1.

the destroyer. He is a "consuming fire, and he sent pestilence amongst men." "The Lord maketh the earth empty and maketh it waste, and turneth it upside down and scattereth abroad the inhabitants thereof." God hardened Pharoah's heart, and sent an evil spirit between Abimelech and the men of Shechem. It was an evil spirit from the Lord that troubled Saul. The prophet Amos asks: "Shall evil befall a city and the Lord hath not done it?" And Job who had reflected so much on the cause of evil, also asks: "Shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?"[107] In the New Testament also there is strain of thought ascribing evil to God. Thus the Lord smote Herod and he was eaten up by worms. God, says St. Paul, gave men over to a reprobate mind, and he exhorts the Romans to behold not merely the goodness but also the severity of God. He asks: "Hath not the potter a right over the clay, from the same lump to make one part a vessel unto honour and another unto dishonour?"[108] The Quran contains expressions which suggest something similar. God "misleadeth whom he will," "causeth whom he will to err and whom he will he guideth."[109] In Zoroastrian books God is at times described as the creator of darkness and of physical evil. He is more powerful to destroy than all others.[110]

The religious feelings of mankind have revolted against the ascription of evil to god, and yet men have felt the

107. *Isaiah* xliv. 7; *Gen.* vii. 4; *Amos* ix. 8; *Deut.* IV. 24; I. *Chron* XXI; *Judges* IX. 23; I. *Sam.* XVI. 14. *Isaiah.* XXIV. 1 *Job* II. 10 *Amos* III. 6.

108. *Acts* XII. 23; *Romans* I. 28; XI. 22; IX. 21.

109. *Quran.* lxxiv. 31; xvi. 95.

110. The Pahlavi treatise, *Sikard Gumanik Vigar*, (S. B. E. XXIX) contains a masterly discussion of the relation of Ahura Mazda to evil. It also discusses Hebrew and Christian ideas, the conception of incarnation of the deity, and the position of the Manicheans. The conclusion reached appears to be dualistic in

unsatisfactoriness of any attitude which opposes to him a great evil spirit. In Manichaeanism the dualism of good and evil was closely associated with one of spirit and matter. In similar manner the evil of the soul for Jainism is due to its bondage to *ajiva*, the unconscious. Opposition to such dualistic conceptions has taken two forms, neither of which has been able to obtain general acceptance as a solution of the difficulty. In the pantheistic and the acosmic conceptions of Hindu religious thought, as in those of some Greek thinkers, good and bad are looked on as mere appearances. For the only soul, the universal soul, they do not exist: they are *Maya*; the ideas of both are due to *avidya*, ignorance. Yet many have felt with Ramanuja and other defenders of a more theistic belief, that even *Maya* must have some "seat" and some "ground," and as on the pantheist or acosmic theory that can only be in the supreme, evil is not truly transcended. The theistic conception, as found in Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam has tended to find the ground of evil chiefly in the wills of finite spirits, acting in opposition to God, by means of the freedom with which he has himself endowed them. Only with such freedom is it supposed that a personal relation, a relationship truly spiritual as distinct from a mechanical one, can be evolved; and any such real freedom, whatever the limits of its exercise, involves the possibility of evil. Such freedom to act in harmony with or in opposition to God is thought of as a characteristic of all spirits, and thus any superhuman spirits may be good or bad.[111]

---

the sense that evil had an origin (if at all) independently of Ahura Mazda, who is all good and who as almighty will in his appointed time triumph over the evil. See *Yasna* 44. 5; *Bundahis* 8; *Dadistan i Dinik* 117; *Zamyad Yt.* II. 9. L. H. Mill: op. cit p. 18 says "Zarathustra first in history taught us the awful truth. He did not prevent sin, because *he could not.*" p. 66.

111. See also below, Chapter IV.

The Development of the Idea of God

Throughout the history of religions, and in the data brought together in the preceding pages of this chapter, certain distinct features may be recognised in the development of the concept of the nature of that which is beyond man in so far as it affects his religious life. In these there is rarely in the religious mind a question of proof: there are definite experiences which the mind simply endeavours to express with the means available at its particular level of development and from its particular point of view. That some of the conceptions have been inadequate, even inaccurate, is evident, but to determine questions of truth or falsehood is not the function of the present study. The idea of God is the culminating point of thought in the subject here being considered. The modes of expression have changed from time to time in the history of religion and from place to place, nevertheless, they seem to point to a felt reality such that thought has not reached satisfaction until it has conceived this as embodying the highest ideals. Though at the outset the impressions of Nature have predominated, and though social life, and the character of the self have contributed to a more ethical and spiritual conception of the felt reality, the experience suggests something Other, that transcends all these. The descriptions given illustrate this: here some of the factors influencing these forms of expression are to be considered.

Religious experience has arisen with the impression of power beyond the individual, greater than his own, and causing him joy or fear. He has *associated* this first with the major and the minor forces of Nature. He has also felt it in the compulsion and restraint of social life. In his own

activity he experiences himself as power. Each of these produces an ever-present impression of unity : the unity of the physical ; the unity of the community ; the unity of consciousness within. At the outset there can have been no question of any *idea* of these unities : then, and even through all stages it is the *felt* unity that has counted most, not the conception of it. Yet at no known level of religion has any one of these appeared as undifferentiated. Within Nature distinct powers have made themselves felt; in the community different individuals have expressed in different ways their independent personalities, and divisions have occurred ; and within the self impulses have been found in conflict. Yet on the other hand in Nature some powers have appeared to be superior, and one, usually the sun, has seemed to dominate all; in the community some one individual, by his *Mana*, his power, his "spirit," has attained a position of supremacy; and within the self a general attitude or character has formed and dominated the diverse and conflicting impulses. Thus a power, dominating as supreme, within a felt unity differentiated by diversity—such has been a feature of the general impression of experience, even at the perceptual level.

As men have risen from the merely perceptual to the conceptual, the regularity of events in Nature, as the rising and setting of the sun and its course across the sky; and the gradually evolving regularity of procedure in the community, have led to the recognition and eventually to the idea of order. The impression of order has become the chief basis of what is understood as rationality. Whether in Nature, in the community, or in the self, the orderly has become associated with the supreme power. Thus, Nature is a rational system; society is considered as rational; and rationality is a fundamental characteristic of the self. This has greater significance when, as in Animism and

later phases, the supreme power felt in Nature is no longer a mere power but a powerful spirit, in whose actions order, and thus virtually some rationality has become evident. With this the relation of man to the power beyond has been conceived more personally. In this development the life in the community has had greater influence than Nature. The ruler who in one way or another expressed in his own acts and sayings the general judgment of the community, combined in himself power and rationality (seen in the social *order* he appeared to maintain). The "King" was not merely the powerful, but the "knowing" and the "wise." So also the supreme spirit of Nature, the god, was also felt to be king, with these attributes. The awe inspired by the god and that inspired by the king were of the same type, and the qualities of kingship became applied to the god, as the qualities of the god were in large measure ascribed to the king. The offerings of food and of other things to the gods are similar in character and motive in most instances to gifts made to kings:—to ensure a personal friendship and benevolence or at least to ward off anger.

It is also through such communal influences that moral distinctions have become consciously recognised. The idea of the king as the source or upholder of morality has been analoguously applied to the god. Yet it is significant that as the king did not always himself conform with the general social practice, and has appeared (at least to later ages) immoral, so similar traits have remained in the ideas of the character of the god until a more inward development of the moral and religious consciousness has led to the demand to see in the god—far more than in the king,—conformity to the highest moral ideal. The conception of the power beyond man as one associated with order and so far rational, and then further as king, and eventually as a moral personality, has been developed very largely through

the influences of the community, and it has brought into relief definite qualities of " the power beyond " as felt in religious experience.

Through the experiences due ultimately to the distinction of sex the development of the idea of the supreme power and man's relation to it is affected even more intimately. The distinctions of sex are related with some of the most intense emotions and with the mysterious fact of birth, and in the sex relation some of the characteristic features of love are most impressively experienced, especially in the union of lover and beloved. Early mythology has naively expressed the idea, which has been considered as a principle of experience and reality, that in the relation of love an imperfection of each is transcended. There is no more intimate expression of the communion of the soul with God than that of love. With moral advance the passion of love broadens into the more permanent and stable sentiment of love and in this sentiment all members of the family group are united more closely and with a warmer intimacy than as members of the community. In this way and through the dependence upon father and mother for food and protection, the terms " Father " and " Mother " have acquired characteristic significance. But at an older age it is to the power beyond that man has looked for food protection and love, and thus the attributes of the paternal and the maternal have been recognised in it also and the names " Father " and " Mother " applied to it.

The higher developments of religion are all associated with the conceptual transcendence of simple feeling. Nevertheless the perceptual impressions always remain and constitute an important factor, this whether with regard to power, to unity, to order and rationality, to the distinction of good and evil, or the experiences of love. The development of the concept has, however, a marked influence.

Thus man has passed from the limited perception of space and of time to the concept of an unlimited extension of both and so to the infinity and omnipresence of the power beyond. From the experience of a partial order and partial good he has passed to the idea of perfect order and the wholly good. At times reflecting on certain aspects of Nature the mind has formed an impersonalist conception of what is beyond man. Most types of impersonalistic pantheism have prevailed amongst peoples the starting point of whose conceptual interpretation of reality has been Nature, the great powers of which have made the preponderant impression on their minds. But under the pressure from other aspects of experience thought has always had to change its course to find a form of comprehension more adequate to the totality of facts. This it has done by turning to a consideration of the nature of the self within, and further to the course of human history and the mystic feelings of the heart. Even when it has not clearly attained theistic expression, the terms used in reference to the ultimate have been coloured with all the warmth of personal associations, imply a fundamental rationality, and so inevitably a spirituality of character. But the greatest influence in the development of the expressions of a thoroughgoing spiritual theism has been due to the increasing knowledge of personality by man in the experience of his own true nature. Modern science in its establishment of the intelligibility of Nature, and of the extent of the reality of consistency and order, helps man so far to see in Nature the revelation of intelligent power, but though of great value in this, it is limited to an intellectual search. Nothing less than a rational ultimate is seen to satisfy beings who have passed the threshold of the conceptual. The data before us go further than that. Not merely the experience of the rishi, the

prophet and the saint, but that of the generality of mankind in the empirical course of religion has led to the affirmation of the conception of a being in whom the highest ideals are embodied. Different peoples, different minds amongst the same peoples, have expressed the conception in different ways, some emphasising this, others that, but the expressions, as found in the literatures quoted, find a response not merely in the intellect but in the whole personality of man. Under a variety of influences, along diverse paths, man has sought, and has believed he has found a Being, in communion with whom his highest relation consists. The nature of this Being the religions have striven to express in terms already described. But before embarking on further consideration of the ideal relation it is necessary to survey the ideas which man has formed as to the nature of his soul.

CHAPTER III

THE SOUL: ITS NATURE, ORIGIN, AND DESTINY

The development of the concepts which express that which in religion man has felt as in some manner beyond him has depended upon, and in part influenced the ideas which he has formed of himself. The tendency has predominated in all the higher advances of religion to interpret the reality beyond in terms of the spiritual as experienced from within. A consideration of the expressions used by man concerning his soul is therefore of importance not only for the understanding of the human side but also of the human conception of the divine side of the relation which constitutes religion. The earliest psychological conceptions in literature are to be found in the sacred books of the religions. It is significant that an explicit treatment of the nature of the soul is not a general constituent of these books, except those of the religions of India, such as Brahmanical Hinduism, Jainism, and Buddhism. Nevertheless, incidentally the subject is one of frequent reference, especially by implication, in all religions. It is important at the outset to emphasise that as the reality which is beyond man is felt as reality and is not to be confused with the various forms under which man has endeavoured to express it; so the soul as immediately known

in self-consciousness is to be distinguished from the attempts to form a concept of it. Yet to a certain extent, paradoxical though it may sound, the nature of the soul depends in part on the conceptions which it accepts as to its own nature.[1]

The soul's immediate awareness of itself must exist before it has any *idea* of itself. The earliest stage of experience is probably a vague distinction which may very unsuitably be described as a feeling of a "within" and a "without." This is the level at which simple impressions of Nature "without" arouse simply particular types of emotions "within". It may be called the pre-animistic stage. Here there is no distinction between a self suffering an emotion and the emotion itself: the feeling of joy with its physiological concomitant of the rapid coursing of blood through the veins, and the feeling of fear and the physiological concomitant of the varied beating of the heart, are not *mine*,—they are *me*. The advance towards an idea of the soul is through an association with certain physiological facts. These are indicated by the use of terms in various languages for physiological aspects of human nature as well as with a spiritual application.[2] Man's first attempts at naming the soul started, as Max Muller has shown, from the simplest observation of material facts. "It was the running away of the blood, the beating of the heart, the breathing, and more particularly the cessation of breathing at the time of death, which suggested the idea that there

1. For discussions of the subject of this chapter see : F. B. Jevons : *Introd. to the History of Religion.*; F. W. Max Muller : *Anthropological Religion* 1898; *Theosophy or Psychological Religion.* 1898; E. Tylor : *Primitive Culture* 1903 ; A. E. Crawley : *The Idea of the Soul* ; H. Spencer : *Sociology.* I: A. Bertholet : *The Transmigration of Souls.*

2. cf. Latin *anima* for breath, soul, and in derivatives denoting living, as animal ; Greek, *pneuma* and *psyche* ; Hebrew *ruach* and *nephesh*; Sanskrit *atman.*

was something different from the decaying body, and at the same time supplied the names for that something."[3] It is probable that the use of some of these terms for the soul is due to effects of stimulation in circumstances of excitement. Thus, for example, in the normal state of health the beating of the heart is almost unapparent, but in conditions of joy or fear the beating is affected and becomes apparent in what may be called "inner sensations." It is such experiences which have led to the early use of the term "heart" or "heart and reins" as referring to the inner nature of man, and so eventually, to the soul. These ideas also underlie the beliefs concerning the "seat" of the soul in the body and affect religious practices. The ancient Semites thought that the seat of the soul was the entrails, and so these were the parts of the animal offered to the god in sacrifice, or inspected in divination.[4] Similarly, breathing is normally not very evident or impressive, but at times of intense emotions the breathing is markedly changed and forces itself on the attention. The breath is the life; as it is put in the Hebrew scriptures: "And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul." The Seminoles of Florida place the mouth of the child over that of the dying mother, so that it may "receive her parting spirit and acquire strength and knowledge for future use."[5] The living moves, and to the early mind movement implied living and living implied what to the later mind has been meant by being a soul.

The phenomena of sleep and of dreams have played a part in bringing men to the distinction of soul and body.

3. Max Muller: *Anthropological Religion.* p. 204.

4. Tylor: *Primitive Culture.* I. 391.

5. See *ante* p. 37. The heroic form of suicide in Japan, sometimes called, hare-kiri, or ripping the abdomen, suggests the same belief.

The Nandi of East Africa think that during sleep the soul leaves the body, and a person must not be awakened roughly or boisterously for fear of the soul not finding its way back again. " The Australian Kurani who was asked whether he really believed that his *Yambo* could 'go out' while he was asleep, immediately answered; " It must be so, for when I sleep I go to distant places, I see distant people; I even see and speak with those that are dead."[6] Similar beliefs are current among the American Indians and the Sea Dyaks of Borneo. The influence of dreams on the growth of the distinction between soul and body could have been felt only after considerable progress had been made in this direction. Though the word " only " may be doubtful Dr. Carpenter is probably in the main correct in saying : "The dream experience only provides the world of the dead with scenery and occupations resembling those of common life; with more rapidity of change and mysterious ease of transformation ".[9] Similarly the shadow, this " double ", an almost constant factor in the day time in tropical lands, appears to have been associated with the inner feelings of consciousness. The Nandi of East Africa have the belief that " the human soul is embodied in a person's shadow, and it is firmly believed that after death the shadows of both good and bad people go underground and live there. "[7] Though it must not be interpreted too literally, it may be noticed that *Mi-kage* 'august shadow' is an ancient Japanese synonym for *mi-tama*, (spirit).[8] It is not that the shadow or the dream, or any of the other phenomena mentioned were alone or together responsible for the development of the idea of the soul : they were simply experiences in which difference from the body as normally observed by

6. Goblet d' Alviella : *The Concept of God.* p. 77.
7. A. C. Hollis : *The Nandi.* 1909 p. 41.
8. Ashton : *Shinto* p. 53.
9. *Comparative Religion.* p. 229.

the senses impressed mankind, and in or through which the distinction of the "within" and "without" came to be more definitely conceived. The chief factor in the development of the idea of the soul is, (although it is strange that it is necessary to state it) just the soul itself. The development of thought and language have led to a clearer self-consciousness, to a profounder understanding of qualities of the soul but at no stage should the form of expression be considered to express all that was or is immediately felt.

The knowledge of the nature of the soul is due far more directly to its emotional, cognitive and volitional experiences. Not only is man impressed by *Mana* without: he also feels it within himself, especially at times of enthusiasm, courage, and high achievement. In the earliest form of Simple Nature-Worship there are the feelings of joy and fear. Feelings of pain and pleasure arise in relation with the body. The hunger for food and the hunger of sex and their satisfaction alike emphasise inward feeling. In the community the individual not only shares in corporate life but experiences himself as an agent. In harmony with, but more especially divergence from and opposition to, the common mode of conduct he becomes more conscious of individuality. The fact of memory, the contrast between what is in image or idea, was actually in perception but is not now, and even more the images and ideas which in relation to desires and impulses arise as in anticipation, are important factors in the experience of the soul, leading it to a knowledge of itself as something distinct from the body and its spatial and temporal conditions. If, as has been contended above[10], the individual feels a power beyond his in the community, a sense of compulsion, he also knows himself in opposition or conformity with it. In conformity there is undoubtedly

10. *ante* p. 144.

most frequently a sense of peace and pleasure as compared with the attitude of opposition. Through this an ethical conception of the soul begins to form itself. In the relation of sex, the emotion reaches its intensest form in the acquiescence and mutual response of both concerned; similarly in the family the sentiments of love expressing themselves in harmonious activity are felt as more desirable than the opposite. Thus, in a variety of experiences in relation with Nature, with the community, through sex, and the family, as well as through other recurring physical needs and their satisfaction psychically felt, the soul gradually comes to a conception of itself as feeling, acting, and knowing. Though at first feeling may be vaguely distinguished in what we now call pleasure and pain, and acting as in co-operation or opposition in the effort for the satisfaction of physical needs, and knowing as the knowledge of the senses, especially seeing and hearing, later developments differentiate more and more within these, and go beyond.

For the majority, at least through a large part of human history, the moral arises in consciousness as a character of the self, mainly in relation with the community. The empirical evidence of the religions shows however another important fact : that moral advances have been through individuals either in teaching or in act, or in both, in opposition to or going beyond the attitude common in the community. Such moral advances have very frequently been due to persons who have come to be accepted as outstanding in the religions, as Gautama Buddha, the Jaina Tirthankaras, Zarathustra, Moses, Jesus, Mohammed, to name some of the chief. These and others have undoubtedly presented their moral teachings not as arrived at by contemplation of Nature or from a social co-ercion, but in reflection or otherwise springing up in inner experience. For them the inner experience predominates in the moral character of

man; and thus the moral is spiritual, the spiritual is moral. But what is apparent in these teachers in the actual objective advances in morality, is also subjectively felt as a normal experience of individuals generally. For they also feel the moral as definitely an inner prompting, the " voice of the heart ", an inner approval or disapproval. Further, this inner experience has also the character of compulsion – a compulsion which goes beyond and sometimes conflicts with that of the community.[11] This compulsion distinct alike from the power of Nature and that of society has been interpreted in the pantheistic religions as an expression of the universal spirit, and in the theistic as due to an immediate relation of the soul with God. Through these experiences distinctive characteristics of the soul have become apparent and have been taken up into the concept of its spirituality. In its own nature it is experienced as a moral being. The reality is felt not merely in conflict between demands of the life in the community and mere individual wishes, but also between an ideal which more or less clearly reveals itself within, or which as taught by others who have perceived it from within arouses an inward response. In the course of moral development not only does the conception of the soul as moral personality become more definitely established, but that which is beyond man, God, is felt and conceived as moral. It is not merely a " power ", but a spiritual power " that makes for righteousness. "

Other aspects of the nature of the soul have become apparent in its capacity of abstract reflection, as in mathematics, or in that type of meditation sometimes meta-

11. It is this fact which appears to be decisive against such theories of religion as those of the sociological school in France, especially that of Durkheim, which interprete it as due to the compulsion of the community in the individual. Cf. E. Durkheim : *Les Formes elementaires de la Vie religieuse* Paris 1912 ; and for a criticism C. C. J. Webb : *Group Theories of Religion*, 1916.

physical, sometimes contemplatively mystical, by which the world of sense perception seems left behind and thought is concerned with a realm of transcendent ideals. Though such reflection and meditation may not have been practised by a large proportion of humanity, it is those who know it who have been responsible for the growth of the idea of the soul, and their knowledge of these powers has profoundly affected that idea.[12]

There is very little evidence of any definite doctrine of the human soul in Shintoism. *Mitama* is used for spirit in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* but is applied only to the Mikados and deified human beings, though this may be due to defective records. " *Tamashii*, a derivative of *tama* is the ordinary word for soul at the present day, and is undoubtedly of considerable antiquity" The recognition of a spirituality in man is suggested by the use of various expressions and practices. " There is a ceremony called *iki-mitama* (living soul) which consists in paying respect to an absent parent as though he were present. "[13] This, so-called ancestor worship,or something similar which has taken its place, has been very widespread : it has helped not simply to express but also to emphasise the belief in the reality of the soul.[14]

---

12. This might be shown from the literature of any religion influenced by philosophy and mysticism.

13. See W. G. Ashton : *Shinto* pp. 49-51 from which the whole of this account is taken.

14. Ancestor worship has been most emphasised by Confucianism. Amongst the Chinese and Japanese it is almost central in religious practice. There is a firm conviction of the unity and co-operation of the living and the dead, as was manifested at the time of the Russo-Japanese war when Admiral Togo sent the following to the Emperor : " The warm message which your Imperial Majesty condescended to grant us with regard to the second attempt to seal Port Arthur, has not only overwhelmed us with gratitude, but may also influence the patriotic *manes* of the departed heroes to hover long over the battle field and give unseen protection to the Imperial

According to the Chinese doctrine, man is a product of the relations of Heaven and Earth, of a kwei and a shen or (in later thought) of the two fundamental principle of existence, that is, the *Yin* of terrestial matter and the *Yang* or immaterial celestial substance. " The soul of man being a part of the Yang and the Yin, which constitute the Tao, it follows that its qualities. that is to say, man's character or instinct called *sing* are naturally good. (It is) says the Yih King, (the celestial Tao which causing the spontanoous evolution of beings, adjusts for each one the natural endowments which constitute his *sing*.)"[15]

The Babylonians do not appear to have had any clear beliefs as to the soul. Life they associated with the liver on account of its containing the largest amount of blood.[16]

Amongst ancient peoples the Egyptians, the Greeks and the Indians occupied themselves most with the nature

forces." It also seems to be implied in the praise of the *fravashis* of the righteous in Zoroastrianism. Thus Moulton: *Early Religious Poetry of Persia.* p.144 says: " Deeply rooted in the ritual of Parsism and clearly indicated in the rather broken verse of ll 49–52 is the annual All Souls feast in honour of the Fravashis". They "were invited to abide with their living friends and after the five intercalary days were over and the New Year dawned, they departed leaving a blessing." In Hinduism the *pitri*, forefathers, also are a definite factor affecting religious practice. In Christianity the doctrine of the communion of saints, a bond of unity between Christian souls here and departed, has virtually taken the place of ancestor worship.

15. J. M. de Groot: *Religion in China.* New York p. 33. cf. 11.

16. M. Jastrow: *Religious Belief in Babylonia and Assyria* 1911. pp. 147–155. Dr. Jastrow gives some interesting parallels, as e. g. from Bokhari " I cried for two days and one night until I thought my liver would crack." So Prometheus was punished by having his liver eaten and as often renewed. Plato's view shows the decline in the status given to the liver, in favour of the heart and brain.

of the soul. For the Egyptians the destiny of the soul was apparently a central factor in their religion. The chief archeological remains of Egypt, the Pyramids, are related with the provision for the after life. The conception of the nature of man is thus summed up by Dr. Breasted :[17] "The actual personality of the individual in life consisted according to the Egyptian notion, in the visible body, and the invisible intelligence, the seat of the last being considered the "heart" or the "belly", which indeed, furnished the chief designations for the intelligence. Then the vital principle which, as so frequently among other peoples, was identified with the breath which animated the body, was not clearly distinguished from the intelligence. The two together were pictured in one symbol, a human-headed bird with human arms, which we find in the tomb and coffin scenes depicted hovering over the mummy and extending to its nostrils in one hand the figure of a swelling sail, the hieroglyph for wind or breath, and in the other the so-called crux ansata, or symbol of life. This curious little bird-man[18] was called by the Egyptians the *ba*. The fact has been strangely overlooked that originally the *ba* came into existence really for the

17. J. H. Breasted: *The Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*. 1915. p. 55.

18. "This conception of the soul as a kind of bird is noteworthy", says A. Wiedemann : *The Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of Immortality*. 1895. p. 34 "when compared with the ideas which other nations formed of it. The Greeks sometimes represented the *eidolon* as a small winged figure, in Roman times it was imagined as a butterfly, in mediaeval reliefs it is seen leaving the mouth of the dead man as a child, or a little naked man." This latter is rather like that of the *Ka*. cf. T. C. Hodson : *The Naga Tribes of Manipur*. 1911. p. 158. "At death something leaves the body. That something is often regarded as a winged insect of some kind, now a butterfly, now a bee. In order to allow the insect to escape a hole is made in the roof directly above the bed of the deceased."

first time at the death of the individual." This account makes no mention of the *ka* which was a sort of double, smaller than the person, but otherwise like him exactly and was probably the original idea. "The *ka* was material just as the body, needing food and drink, suffering hunger and thirst." To partake of food it become incorporated in the mummy.[19]

It is impossible to determine what were the popular conceptions of the soul current in Greek religion, but in the higher thought of philosophy which had its influence on the best of Greek religious life, and in forms of Orphicism and Neo-platonism which had an attraction for many minds, doctrines of profound spirituality were reached. These have affected the later developments of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, just as the analogous doctrines of the Upanishads have affected most of the higher religious movements of India. There is ground to suppose that the idea that the soul was something more than a feeble double of the self and that its true nature could only be experienced when "out of the body" was suggested in part by the phenomenon of ecstasy experienced in the religious revival which appears

19. Wiedemann: op. cit. p. 19 also A. Moret: *At the time of the Pharoahs*. p. 188. But see Breasted: op. cit. p. 57n, who says the *ka* was not an element of the personality but only the protecting genius. The idea of a *double* also is found elsewhere: in the Norse conception there are distinct characteristics in its social implications. cf. P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye: *Religion of the Teutons*. 1902 p. 292. "Everywhere in Norse literature we meet with the notion of a man's second *ego*, his double, his *fylgja* (follower). This *fylgja* is nothing less than man's soul, which dwells in the body, and leaves it at death, but which even during one's lifetime already leads an independent existence, so that in one instance a person is even said to have stumbled over his one fylgja. Similarly Helgi's *fylgjur* (plural) are seen before his death. The fylgja stands on the border dividing souls from spirits. The *fylgja* is the soul which leaves man in his sleep, which after his death passes over to his son, so that the personal fylgja *(mannsfylja)* becomes a family *fylgja (attarfylgja)*.

to have originated in Thrace.[20] Aristotle[21] has given us a concise statement of different conceptions of human nature known to Greek thought at his time: " Those who have concentrated their attention on the fact that what is animate is in motion have regarded Soul as that which is most capable of movement: those who have directed their observations to the fact that the Soul knows and perceives things existing, identify Soul with the elementary principles of all existence, whether they recognise a plurality of these or only one. Thus Empedocles makes Soul to be compounded of all the elements, and at the same time considers each of these to be a Soul. His words are as follows:–Earth we perceive by earth, and man knoweth water by water, air the divine by air, by fire sees fire the destroyer, love he beholds by love, by discord horrible discord. So Plato in the Timaeus constructs Soul out of the elements. Like is known by like, he maintains, and the objects of knowledge are composed of the elements of existence... While, however, thinkers agree in reducing the Soul to elements or principles, they differ as regards the name and number of the principles: some make them corporeal, others incorporeal; some reduce them to one, others regard them as more in number...Democritus regarded the Soul as identical with Mind (*nous*), which belongs to the class of primary and indivisible bodies, and possesses the faculty of movement.....Anaxagoras sometimes seems to distinguish Soul and Mind, but he really identifies them, except that he makes Mind the principle of all things... Herakleitos also identifies the Soul with his principle in describing it as the " fiery process " out of which he derives other existing things, his ground being that it is that which is least corporeal and in constant movement...Thus

20. J. Burnet : *Early Greek Philosophy :* p. 86.

21. As quoted by W. R. Inge : *The Philosophy of Plotinus,* 1918 I. p. 200-1.

with the exception of the earth all the elements have gained a vote." Anaximander had said: "As our soul which is air holds us together, so do breath and air encompass the whole world."[22] To Herakleitos and the religious teachers of his time the soul was more real than all else, and wisdom or thought were its chief attributes. "You cannot find out the boundaries of soul: so deep a measure hath it."[23] But his teaching did not satisfy, for the doctrine of eternal flux, according to which the soul is as instable as the body, gave no clear hold on immortality—for it could only be immortal in being an ever changing part of the fire which constitutes the world.

Some Pythagoreans developed a theory of the soul as a mere atunement or accompaniment of the body. Against this view the philosophies of Socrates, Plato and Aristotle were in part directed. With Plato the doctrine is definitely reached that man's soul is of the same nature as the universal soul. His body is material, made of the four elements of earth, air, fire, and water: it is imperfect, being subject to the passions. The soul is in essence active: "the motion which of itself can move itself." Similarly Aristotle insists that the human soul has mind (*nous*) in addition to the elements possessed by the lower animals and plants, for man has the power of thought and reflection. It is interesting to observe the increasing tendency to analytical introspection. The soul is of both rational and non-rational factors. Its well-being is found to consist in the establishment of order in it, similar to order amongst the different elements in the community. Each factor has its function, and in the exposition of Plato and even more of Aristotle we have the basis of a conception of the human ideal which has affected the conception of the

22. J. Burnet: *Greek Philosophy* 1914. I. p. 25.
23. ibid. p. 59.

soul in all later Western theories of idealism and humanism. *Sophia* or wisdom should be the aim of the human soul, for it is this which brings men nearest to the likeness of God. In the sphere of practical religion the Orphics were emphasising the distinction of soul and body; not merely by religious teachings but more through ascetic practices. The soul was regarded as divine : man is of the kindred of God. But the soul is imprisoned in the body, even more, the body is " the tomb of the soul ", and what men call life is really death. Many other influences were also working towards the general acceptance of spiritual ideas of the soul. Euripides continually introduced into his plays, and thus brought to influence on a wide circle, the more profound conceptions in opposition to the popular physical imagery. Even in the sixth century Charondas is supposed to have maintained : " No unjust man can have communion with God. " Thus ethical ideas reveal themselves in relation to man's approach to god. " In the earlier part of the fifth century Epicharmes had declared : ' Thou art pure in thy whole body if thou art pure in soul ', and spiritual purity becomes regarded at last as a positive state of blessedness. At the beginning of *Aureum Carmen* of Hierokles a product of the later Pythagoreanism, we read that 'God has no fairer temple on earth than the pure soul.'[24] For Stoicism, virtually a " religion ", the universal soul, permeated by rationality, is the real soul of all. Feeling and impulses are temporary and transitional., nevertheless even these are aspects of the life of the soul, the inner principle of which is to reconcile and harmonize them. The "fiery breath", the "germinative reason" produces and permeates the whole world: in man it attains the form of "rational soul", which thus partakes of the nature of God.

24. L. R. Farnell : *Higher Aspects of Greek Religion.* pp. 145–7.

Viewed from the standpoint of religion Greek thought as to the nature of the soul may be said to have reached its culmination in Neo-platonism. For it, soul is the offspring of Spirit, from which it is distinguished by its unfulfilled desire, Spirit being free from all desires. It is thus an intermediary between Spirit and the world of perception: "This is the proper sphere of the soul: between sense perception and spirit" It is in some sense universal, yet "each individual soul has its own character and uniqueness which give it its individuality; but in the world yonder this is no obstacle to their complete communion with each other." The soul knows itself truly when it knows itself as Spirit. In fact part of the soul remains in the spiritual world, and through participation in this undivided soul individual souls have a common feeling: "We have a fellow feeling with each other and with the All; so that when I suffer the All feels it to." "The individual is a microcosm striving after unity and universality. We do not yet know ourselves. The soul feels itself an exile and a wanderer from God. It is impelled by home sickness to struggle up towards the world of Spirit."[25] So Philo exhorts himself: "Haste thee, O my soul to become God's dwelling place, pure, holy, to become strong instead of utterly weak, powerful instead of impotent, wise instead of foolish, most reasonable instead of wandering."[26]

25. Neo-platonism has its widest and profoundest expression in the work of Plotinus. The account above is almost verbatim from Dr. W. R. Inge's: *The Philosophy of Plotinus* 1918. I. pp. 200-264. an exhaustive, sympathetic, and indispensable treatise. Neo-platonism has many affinities with the thought of Indian systems, but these and the question of any dependence have not yet been adequately investigated.

26. G. H. Moore: *Religious Thought of the Greeks.* p. 213.

The doctrines of the soul in India also show mainly the work of meditative philosophers rather than of ethical teachers. The various forms of belief have been briefly summarised by a devotee of the theistic school of Ramanuja : " The thesis of the Bauddhas (i. e. Buddhists) that as consciousness is momentary, Soul is the concatenation of (such) moments ;—the thesis of the Carvakas that Soul is co-terminous with the body, which is a compound of Four Elements ;—the thesis of the Jainas that Soul is commensurate with the elephant's body in the elephant, and commensurate with the ant's body in the ant ;—the thesis of Yadava that Soul is a fragment of God (Brahman);—the thesis of Bhaskara that Soul is a division of the conditioned God (Brahman);—the thesis that Soul is a fabrication (effected) by nescience;—the thesis that Soul is multiplied by reason of the limiting (or circumscribing) Inner Organ (*Antahkarana*); all other such objectionable theses are disannulled; and likewise the contention for its (Soul's) infinitive nature (*vibhutva*)."[27]

The earliest attempts at an expression of the nature of the soul are to be found more especially in the *Upanishads*,[28] the conceptions in which have affected all later Hindu ideas on the soul. The treatment is not systematic and shows traces of the survival of early analogies. There is, for example, a close relation suggested between the nature of the soul and food. Again, it is the breath: " Truly, breath is the life of all beings...The self consists of breath ". But besides this " breathing spirit ", there is the intelligent self. The soul illuminates all man's life: " The soul is indeed his light, for with the soul as his

27 *Yatindra-Mata-Dipika* of Srinivasa. Trs. by A. S. Govindacharya Madras 1912. p. 120–1.

28. Concerning the psychology of the Upanishads, see R. D. Ranade : *Indian Philosophical Review* : Vol. I and IV; and G. H. Langley : Vol. III.

light one sits, moves around, does his work, and returns." Some expressions appear to give the soul a size, but they are rather attempts to express its control over the body. "The intelligent luminous self in the heart is as small as a grain of rice or barley, and yet is the ruler of all and the lord of all, over-ruling all this and whatsoever else exists." Another passage says it is "of the measure of a thumb;" or again "of a span," perhaps meaning the size of the head, that being about a span from chin to forehead.[29] For the head was regarded by Brahmanical Hinduism as the most excellent part of the body. Distinction is sometimes made between the self at the centre of all and permeating all and an "elemental" self. "There is indeed another different soul, called the elemental soul—he who being overcome by the bright or the dark fruits of action, enters a good or an evil womb, so that his course is downward or upward, and he wanders around, overcome by the pairs of opposites." But the inner self is unaffected by the transformations of this elemental soul.[30]

29. As R. D. Ranade suggests: *Indian Philosophical Review* Baroda I. 1917–8. pp. 151–2. In this connection it is interesting to note that other Aryans, the Romans, thought of the head as the soul and in consequence the priest of Jupiter was forbidden to go with head uncovered, and wore a special cap. The strange practice of trepanning or boring a hole in the skull, which has been inferred from skulls which have been excavated, is supposed to have a relation to the entrance or exit of the soul. We "are not told" says Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 292 speaking of the pre-Buddhistic Brahmins "how the soul gets out of and back into the body. This is not surprising for the opinions expressed as to how the soul got its first body—whether at conception, or at quickening or at birth—are contradictory.....There are passages which suppose the soul to have existed before birth, in some other body, and other passages which suppose it to have been inserted at the origin of things into the first body down-wards through the sutureat the top of the skull into the heart."

30. *Tait.* Up. ii; *Brih.* iv 3. 6.; v. 6. 1; *Kath.* xi. 12; *Chand.* v. 18. 1. *Maitri.* iii. 2.

At Benares.

There are different stages in the progress to self-knowledge, through " the understanding Self, the Great Self (intellect) and the Tranquil Self." An even more important distinction, which continually recurs in one form or another in Hindu thought, is that of the soul's four states : the waking state, dreaming, deep sleep, and the fourth " that cannot be designated, the essence of the assurance of which is the state of being one with the Self." The relation of the soul to the body is frequently described in the simile of riding a chariot, a description which graphically presents the conflicting tendencies in its life.

Know thou the soul as riding a chariot,
The body as the chariot.
Know thou the intellect as the chariot driver,
And the mind as the reins.
The senses, they are the horses;
The objects of sense, what they range over.
The self combined with senses and mind,
Wise men call the ' enjoyer '.
He who has not understanding,
Whose mind is not constantly held firm,
His senses are uncontrolled,
Like the vicious horses of a chariot driver.
He, however, who has understanding,
Whose mind is constantly held firm—
His senses are under control,
Like the good horses of a chariot driver.

It is in the soul that God is to be known. " As oil in sesame seeds, as butter in cream, as water in river beds, and as fire in the friction sticks, so is the Soul apprehended in one's own soul, if one looks for Him with true austerity." Ultimately, in fact, the *atman*, the reality within the soul, is the Universal Soul, the *Brahman* : " The

Universal Atman (Soul) is verily that support which you reverence as the Atman (Soul). " And this includes all within it : " Verily this soul is Brahma, made of knowledge, of mind, of breath, of seeing, of hearing, of earth, of water, of wind, of space, of energy, and of non-energy, of desire and non-desire, of anger, and non-anger, of virtuousness and of non-virtuousness. It is made of everything. " Nevertheless : " It is unseizable, for it cannot be seized. It is indestructible, for it cannot be destroyed. It is unattached for it does not attach itself. "[31]

Under the influence of certain forms of interpretation, associated, especially in popular thought, with the philosophy of Sankara, the teaching of the *Upanishads* came to be regarded as making no distinction between the individual soul and God : One without a second. But other movements, especially those associated with a theistic view of reality, have insisted on the persistence of a difference between souls. Ramanuja expresses this in the words of the *Siddhi-traya* : " The ' individual soul ' is a separate entity in each body which is by nature eternal, subtle, and blissful. It is distinct from the body, the senses, the mind the vital air, and the intellect, and is self-contained."[32] The Vaishnavite conception of the soul regards it as though embodied in matter, and itself forming as it were the body for God : " This (Soul) is Eternal, for it remembers what was experienced in the past. But it may be asked : How, if Soul is eternal, do they speak of its being ' born ' and ' dead ' ? We reply that birth is because of the Soul's bondage with body, and death is, because of its severance therefrom. Hence the nature of the Soul is Eternal. It is distinct for each distinct body. It is by nature

31. *Kath* iii. 13. *Mandukya ; Kath* iii. 3-6 ; *Svet.* i. 15. *Chand* v. 17. 1. *Brih.* iv. 4. 5. *Brih.* iv. 2. 4.

32. T. Rajagopala Chariar : *The Vaishnavite Reformers of India.* Madras 1909.

Blissful (or essentially Joyous); but, infected by environment (*upadhi*), falls into migration (*samsara*). It is agent (*karta*), enjoyer (*bhokta*), the bodied (*sariri*) and body (*sarira*). It is the bodied with reference to to matter; with reference to God (*Isvara*), it is body."[33] While in the reflection of the *Upanishads* and in the expression of the emotions in the hymns of the saints, it is possible to gain some insight into the nature of the soul as understood in Hinduism, it would be impossible to ignore the fact that the idea dominating much of Hindu religious life has been (and is) that only through practice as taught in the *yoga* system is the soul fully known. " The idea ' I am this undivided self ' is knowable in one's own experience". This experience is to be attained in its fullest and perfect form only by practical methods. Through steadfastness and calmness of mind by the control of breath and meditative concentration the soul attains to purity or " isolation. "[34]

The Jaina religion centres around the idea of the soul, *jiva* and its attainment of purity, that is, freedom from bondage to non-soul, *ajiva*. A correct belief as to the nature of the soul is thus essential.[35] In itself the soul is formless, but it assumes a form according to whether its own acts, or *karmas* are such as to associate it with the unconscious. It has no beginning and no end, but passes from form to form until it attains liberation from all form by realising its own true nature. Through its forms in

33. *Yatindra-Mata-Dipika*. pp. 119, 120. There is in this something similar to some interpretations of the triad : body, soul, and spirit, which is found in some Christian literature.

34. See J. H. Woods : *The Yoga-System of Patanjali*. Cambridge U. S. A. 1914. Quotation from p. 67.

35. On the Jain doctrine of the soul, see : C. R. Jain : *The Key of Knowledge*, Arrah 1919 (index). ; Nahar and Ghosh : *Epitome*, ch. xvii, xxiii. xx, xxvi, xxxi, xxxv. ; Muni Nyayavijaya : *Adhyatma-Tattvaloka* : Baroda 1920 pp. 42-53. ; J. L. Jain ; *Outlines*,

bondage to *ajiva*, it suffers a series of births and deaths, as in the material world. From such transmigration the pure soul is free. This freedom can only be attained by its own effort. "Jiva is characterised by *upayoga*, is formless and an agent, has the same extent as its own body, is the enjoyer (of the fruits of Karma), exists in *samasara*, is Siddha and has a characteristic upward motion. "[36] " Just as the lotus-hued ruby when placed in a cup of milk imparts its lustre to the milk, so *Atman* residing in its own body imparts its lustre or intelligence to the whole body ". " *Jiva* pervades the whole body. Still he is not one with the body though, when functioning, he is identical with it. Impelled by gross emotions, stained by *Karmas* he puts on different forms in the cycle of *Samasara* ". " The soul fills the whole Universe only in Omniscient overflow. Otherwise it is in extent equal to its mundane body, except in the Overflow (*Samudghata*) ".[37]

The characteristic mark of souls is intelligence, but they vary from one-sensed souls to those which are omniscient. Omniscient souls, who are thus free from bondage may be called *Mukta* souls; the others, still embodied and in the throes of re-birth are *Samsari* souls. Human souls are at the stage of possessing *manas* or mind, and are *sanjni* or rational. Besides the cognitive side, there is also the active life of the soul, *karma-chetana* and the affective side, *karma-phala-chetana*. "The soul has the following attributes. It has Life, Consciousness, *Upayoga* (knowledge and perception) and is potent, performs actions, and is affected by their results, is conditioned by its own body, is incorporeal and is ordinarily found with *Karma*. According to Vyavahara Naya, that is called Jiva, which is possessed of four

36. *Dravya-Samgraha* 2. trs S. C. Ghoshal : Arrah 1917 p. 4.

37. *Panchastikayasara* of Sri Kundakunda Acharya. 33. trs A. Chakravarti. 1921 p. 30; 34. p. 31.; *Tattvartha Sutra* of Sri Umaswami Acharya. V. & Commentary. trs. J. L. Jaini. 1920. p. 113.

Pranas, viz., *Indriya* (the sense) *Bala* (force), *Ayu* (life) and *Ana-prana* (respiration) in the three periods of time (viz., the present, the past and the future), and according to Nisthaya Naya, that which has consciousness is called Jiva." " Whatever thing manifesting through four Pranas (or principles of organism) is living at present, will continue to live in the future, and was living in the past, that same is *Jiva*." or respiration. " *Atman* becoming omniscient and all perceiving through its own effort obtains the infinite bliss which transcends sense experience which is free from any imperfection, which is spiritual and self-determined." " Because of the fact that the Self perceives and understands all things without limit it also enjoys infinite bliss. "[38]

Early Buddhism was essentially a doctrine and a method of redemption from suffering. The fundamental cause of suffering is desire, and at the root of desire lies a false view of the nature of the self. This false view is that of the reality of a substantial metaphysical individual entity or ego-soul. In ethical teaching it was necessary to use the term *self*. " The self reproaches the self " is the Pali idiom for a troubled conscience. The " taming of of self " " the right poising of the self " and " self-advantage " are all terms of Buddhist ethics ".[39] The same exression is also found in relation with the belief in transmigration. The sense of this usage is that of a temporary collocation of experiences (mental and physical), which collocation and experiences are continually changing. At first the emphasis was placed upon the impermanence

38. *Panchastikayasara*. 27. p. 24. ; *Dravya Samgraha*. 3. p. 7. ; *Panchastikayasara*. 30. p. 27. ; ibid. p. 27. ; ibid. 170. p. 166.

39. Mrs. Rhys Davids : *Buddhism* p. 54 cf. e. g. the use of the term self in the ethical treatise *The Dhammapada* SBE. X. p. 45. ch. entitled "Self" : "Self is the lord of self, who else could be the lord ? With self well subdued a man finds a lord such as few can find ".

of experience, and the impossibility of discovering any fundamental reality to which to attach the term "I". In consequence it was considered a delusion; indeed, *the* delusion to which all suffering is ultimately due. This negative side has predominated in the Hinayana, but in Mahayana Buddhism in conformity with its general tendency a more positive character is revealed in that, though the idea concerning the finite ego is still mainly that it is delusory, more emphasis is placed on the ultimate reality within the soul in a kind of idealistic absolute.[40]

In Buddhist literature the nature of the soul is a problem of frequent discussion. A discussion in considerable detail is given in the *Katha Vathu* or Points of Controversy, in which it occupies the most prominent position at the beginning of the first book. In a passage towards the close of the discussion the possible beliefs are summed up: 'There are these three teachers, Seniya, to be found in the world—who are the three? There is first, Seniya, that kind of teacher who declares that there is a real, persistent soul in the life that now is, and in that which is to come; then there is the kind of teacher, Seniya, who declares that there is a real, persistent soul in the life that now is, but not a soul in a future life; lastly, there is a certain teacher who does not declare that there is a soul either in the life that now is, or in that which is to come. The first, Seniya, of these three is called an Eternalist, the second is called an Annihilationist; the third of these, he, Seniya, is called the teacher, who is Buddha supreme. These are the three teachers to be found in the

40. The subject of Buddhist psychology has been treated by Mrs. Rhys Davids in *Buddhist Psychology* 1914. in which it will be seen how the mind and its states were analysed in detail. A briefer but excellent account is also given by the same in *Buddhism*.

world."[41] In support of this attitude one main contention is that of ignorance, and along with this there is opposition to accepting a mere assumption. Thus " it is surely wrong to say the soul is known in the sense of a real and ultimate fact." " But both soul and that which belongs to soul being in very truth and for ever impossible to be known, then this that is a state of opinion, namely: *that* is the world, *that* is the soul, this I shall hereafter become permanent, constant, eternal, unchangable—so I shall abide even like unto the Eternal, is not this, bhikkhus, absolutely and entirely a doctrine of fools ? Whatever it be not, lord, it surely is, absolutely and entirely a doctrine of fools. "[42]

But this appears indisputable that " all existence whatever or wherever, is impermanent, full of sorrow and subject to change." There is no knowledge of a metaphysical soul, transcending change and the basis of personal identity. The only continuity is one of mere succession : " The being of a past moment of thought has lived, but does not live, nor will it live. The being of a future moment of thought will live, but has not lived, nor does it live. The being of the present moment of thought does live, but has not lived, nor will it live." In fact " All beings are without self, all beings are without life, without a personality. " Consequently, " To have removed the notion ' I am ', that is the supreme joy : " " O Subhuti, there does not exist in nobleminded Bodhisattvas the idea of self, there does not exist the idea of a being, the idea of a living being, the idea of a person."[43]

---

41. cf. *Udana* vi. 5. Strong. pp. 96-7 where a much more detailed list of possible views is given.

42. See especially *Milinda Pañho :* Bk. II 1. 2, 3 : III 5. ; *Katha Vatthu* trs. Mrs. Rhys Davids. I. 1. 243 p. 62 ; I. 1. 243 p. 63. ; I. 1. 242. p. 62.

43. *Udana* III. 10. trs Strong p. 45. ; H. Warren : *Buddhism*

The Mahayana schools came to acknowledge beyond or within the transitory and changing, beyond or within the finite self, a fundamental reality. This is frequently called mind, though, obviously, that term is not to be equated with the empirical phenomena of mental experience of the finite self. It is a state attained by the enlightened. Thus it is asked with regard to the goal : " In what attitude of mind should it be diligently explained to others ? Not assuming the permanency or the reality of earthly phenomena, but in the *conscious blessedness of a mind at perfect rest.* And why ? Because, the phenomena of life may be likened unto a dream, a phantasm, a bubble, a shadow, the glistening dew, or lightning flash, and thus they ought to be contemplated. " Or again as it is put by Asvaghosha : " The soul as birth-and-death (*samsara*) comes forth (as the law of causation) from the Tathagata's womb (*Tathagatagarbha*) But the immortal (i. e., suchness) and the mortal (i. e. birth-and-death) co-incide with each other. Though they are not identical, they are not a duality. "[44] In a modern statement of Mahayana doctrine the conception is thus described : " The essence of mind is the entity without ideas and without phenomena, and is always the same. It pervades all things, and is pure and unchanging. "[45]

Zoroastrianism is predominantly an ethical religion, and the conception of the soul found in its extant scriptures

in translations. p. 150. ; *Vagrakkhedika.* xvii trs Max Muller. SBE. xlix. p. 134.; *Udana* II. 1. p. 14. ; *Vagrakkhedika.* vi. SBE. xlix p. 117.; *Milinda Panho.* ii. 1. 41. SBE. xxxv p. 65.

44. Gemmell : *Diamond Sutra.* p. 108. ; *Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana.* trs D. T. Suzuki. p. 60. cf. 97.

45. From a Buddhist deputy from Japan at the Chicago Parliament of Religions 1893. quoted by Max Muller in introd. to *Vagrakkhedika.* SBE, xlix. ; cf. D. T. Suzuki : *Outlines of Mahayana Buddhism* : pp. 147, 157, 165, and especially 144–6. " Mahayana Buddhists generally understand the essential characteristic of atman

is related almost entirely to its chief aim.[46] There are occasional descriptions of the constituents of man, but no systematic or detailed consideration. In the *Gathas* man is observed to belong to two worlds, that of the body and that of thought. Central for Zarathustra is the teaching that the soul has the power over its own destiny. "Their own soul and their own self shall torment them when they come to where the bridge of the separator is." "God has given all men sufficient ability to save themselves from sin as well as from Ahriman, the source of their sins and woes." "Every intelligent human being shall be as capable

to consist in freedom, and by freedom they mean eternality, absolute unity, and supreme authority.....Now, take anything that we come across in this world of particulars: and does it not possess one or all of these three qualities—transitoriness, compositeness, and helplessness or dependence ? Therefore, all concrete individual existences, not excepting human beings, have no *atman*, have no ego that is eternal, absolute, and supreme." Also G. W. Knox: *Development of Religion in Japan*. New York 1907. p. 100 concerning the Zen Sect: "We are to get below these distinctions of subject-object, ego-non-ego, knower-known, the I and the world, to the unchanging undifferentiated self, which is before them all and of which all are but temporary manifestations."

In the Surangama Sutra a discussion is reported concerning the seat of the soul, with the conclusion that the "mind" may "reside in the midst of any object perceived, and that therefore it is impossible to fix its locality." See S. Beal; *Catena* pp. 284-299; 299n.

46. On the Zoroastrian doctrine of the soul, see W. Geiger: *Civilisation of Ancient Iran*. 1885. I. ch. iii; L. C. Casartelli: *Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sassanids*. Bombay. 1889. ch. v.; R. E. D. Peshotan Sanjana: *Zarathustra and Zarathustrianism in the Avesta*. Leipzig. 1906. ch. v.; and for a useful summary, my pupil, M. A. Buch's: *Zoroastrian Ethics*. Baroda 1919. ch. iii. The constituents of man are variously given: e. g. *ahu*, vitality; *daeno* ego, self; *baodha*, perception, sense; *urvan* soul; and *fravashi*; and in Pahlavi: *jan*; life; *ravan*, soul; *farohar*, guardian spirit; *bod*, consciousness; *akho*, judgement; *khart*, intelligence; *vir*, reason; *hosh* memory; *dino* religion; *vaksh*, conscience,

of avoiding sin as of tending to acts of merit. Thus the man of this material world is formed always capable of redeeming his soul from sin." The soul is 'invisible' and by nature a good spirit. It has a definite task in its life in the world, that of fighting against evil. Nevertheless, it longs and strives to go back to its original spiritual abode "of intuitive wisdom." For its task the soul has its own capacities but it is also nourished and protected by Ahura Mazda, to whom it prays for "power and great strength." The soul is "the ruler over the body. Just as the head of a family conducts the household, and the rider the horse, so does the soul conduct the body."[47]

"The bright soul or the respiratory power of the soul dwells in the navel (or the centre of every animate object)." It is an inward breath of life, for thanksgiving (unto God). Through his soul man comes to know of his appointed work in the world, and for this he has the power of thought or intellect, perception, reason, judgement. "The intellectual part of the spirit preserves the body internally from its immoderate passions." Good thought, wisdom, is the foremost of the three aspects of the good life: just as God is *Ahura Mazda*, the Wise Lord. A distinction is, however, made between the innate reason of the soul and the educated reason. "The happiness of the soul is desired in two ways: One, by means of the power of innate reason pertaining to the soul, which is (a principle) for sending out the inner movements (thoughts) to the effect to raise the soul to a higher rank. (Another) by means of educated reason, which is (a principle) for sending the outer

47. *Yasna* 46. 11. cf. Moulton: *Early Religious Poetry of Persia*: p. 72. "That a man's Self is his own determinant of destiny is the one doctrine that matters". Also *The Treasure of the Magi*. p. 36. "The deepest and truest revelation made or adopted by our Sage is the doctrine that a man's Self (*daena*) determines his future destiny."

movements within." Though thought may be at the root of the good life, that life is essentially an active one: there is no suggestion that the soul finds its true nature in a mystic passivity. "The soul of man never (permanently) remains in one single place, since according to its principle it is progressing or regressing. As to its progress and regress this is said thus: As long as man follows spiritual desires, it is progressing; when he follows bodily desires, then the soul deteriorates."[48] Influencing the man's life urging him on to the good is the (variously interpreted) *Fravashi*, which accompanies the individual on earth "an infallible monitor who now advises and now admonishes the soul, now applauds its action, and now raises a voice of warning at a threatening spiritual danger."[49] In later literature the doctrine is suggested that at death the *Fravashi* of the righteous man unites with the soul forming a spiritual unity.

Man, according to the Hebrew scriptures is "in the image of God." Whatever may be the real meaning of this phrase, the psychology of the Jews has developed in relation with their specifically religious outlook.[50] Already in early Hebrew scriptures may be found the expressions, body, soul, and spirit, but the usage shows a development in what is implied by these three terms. In early Hebrew thought man was conceived of as a living organism just like any other animal, as body penetrated by the breath of life. The expression "a living soul" in *Genesis* may imply little more than an animated being. The life was also associated with the blood, and the emotions and intellig-

48. *Yasna* xlviii. 4; *Dinkard.* ed. Sanjana, Bombay, vii 441; vi 405, 358, 353; *Yasna* xxix. 11; xxxi 11; xxxiii 12; *Dinkard* v. 301; vi 384; i. 60; xi. 78–9.

49. Dhalla: op. cit. p. 144.

50. On Hebrew and Jewish conceptions of the soul, see: Kohler. *Jewish Theology* pp 206–239; R. H. Charles: *Eschatology, Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian.* 1913. See analytical summary references in index; A. B. Davidson: *The Theology of the Old Testament,*

ence with the heart. Careful investigation has suggested a twofold account of man in Hebrew thought, though the two views are not so definite as to prevent a merging of one in the other. The two conceptions have influenced different sects differently and have persisted on into Christian thought. One looks on man simply as body and soul, the other as body, soul, and spirit. For the former the soul is the individual conscious life, especially the life of the emotions and to a less extent of the intelligence. In this sense it seems to signify what is popularly meant by a "person". For the later conception spirit is, as it were, the impersonal principle of life in man as in all living beings. The soul is the psychical result which accrues when this spirit permeates and quickens the body: "when the spirit is withdrawn, the vitality of the soul is destroyed."[51] But notwithstanding the differences of the two views it appears correct to suppose that for the Jews generally man was body and soul, and the term "spirit" has indicated the nature of the soul and emphasised particular aspects of its life, especially those apparently not dependent on the body. The spirit is the innermost reality of the soul, and it is in this that men are associated with God. Spirit in man is due to his contact with God, and is directly produced by God. "He hath given breath unto the people upon it, and spirit to them that walk therein". With the religious evolution through the teaching of the prophets and in and through religious experience as expressed in the Psalms and the book of Job, there grew up a recognition of a parallelism and an association of the inner life of man, his spirit, with the Spirit of God.[52] The whole religious life

51. R. H. Charles: op. cit. p. 42.

52. Note the representation of this parallelism in the Midrash: "Just as God permeates the world and carries it, unseen yet seeing all, enthroned within as the Only One, the Perfect and the Pure, yet never to be reached or found out; so the soul penetrates and carries

led men to a deeper and fuller conception of their nature, and the formation of a concept of that nature as spiritual tended to a more conscious and established development of the spiritual life. "The spirit of man is the lamp of the Lord." The psalmist might ask: "What is man?", but he had his answer, that man is but a little lower than the angels, and has dominion on earth. It is this "spirit in man" which raises him above all other beings on earth, and by it men get real understanding. "But there is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding". "The spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him, the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord". The spirit in man, as the higher aspect of the soul, by its contact with the Spirit of God has the power of discriminating what is in harmony with and what in opposition to the character of this Spirit. On this capacity and on following one or the other path the welfare of the soul is found to depend. "He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?" Man has not merely knowledge of what is good: he has also the freedom to choose it. "I have set before you life and death, blessing and cursing; therefore choose life, that both thou and thy seed may live".[53] Maimonides, perhaps the most influential systematiser of the Jewish faith since Moses and the priestly *redacteurs* after the Exile, calls the belief in freedom "the pillar of Israel's faith and morality, since through it alone man manifests his god-like sovereignty."[54]

---

the body as the one pure and luminous being which sees and holds all things, while itself unseen and and unreached" Kohler: op cit. 217.

53. Isaiah xlii 5; Proverbs xx. 27; Psalm viii; Job xxxii 8; Is. xl 2; Micah vi 8; Deut. xxx 19.

54. Kohler: op. cit. p. 237.

The Christian conception of the nature of man has been developed through certain definite influences.[55] Of these, two are by far the most significant : first, the teaching of Jesus in which the distinctive character of the soul, its superiority to the body, and its highest bliss in a communion of souls with God are fundamental; then, second, the account and interpretation which St. Paul gives of his own religious experience. St. Paul, more introspective, expresses the character of the inner experiences of the soul in relation with God and with the body, and in this constantly uses the term, spirit. Through these two influences the two phrases, implied in Jewish thought, " body and soul ", and " body, soul and spirit ", have persisted in Christian theology and gained new associations and significance. It is not here a question of an opposition of ideas of a twofold and a threefold nature in man, but that by the term *spirit* is emphasised an aspect of the soul which is recognised throughout. The soul constitutes the principle of life in the body; it is the soul which experiences the emotions of joy and grief. The soul is, in fact, the self. "I will say to my soul" obviously means " I will say to myself " : and there are many other similar examples. But the soul has an inner life which is to be distinguished from its psychical apprehension of the affairs of the physical body and the physical world. It is this double character of the life of the soul which is mainly implied in the Pauline distinction of soul and spirit. The idea is forcibly expressed in the corresponding use of "life" and "soul" in one English translation of a passage which presents a cardinal principle of the teaching of Jesus : " Whosoever will save his life shall lose it: but whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it. For what is a

55. On the Christian ideas concerning the soul, see R. H. Charles op. cit. especially appendix 464–475 ; M. Scott Fletcher : *The Psychology of the New Testament*. 1912. ; E. D. Burton in *The American Journal of Theology*. 1916. xx 390–413 and 563–596.

man profited, if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul ? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul ? ". It is the soul that sins, and the soul especially for which salvation is to be sought. The term spirit is used at times to suggest the principle of life within the soul, but it is most frequently applied to the higher power of the soul, especially for its capacity of communion with God. In the spiritual aspect of the soul, man's kinship with the divine is seen : " That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit ". " The Spirit himself beareth witness with our spirit, that that we are children of God ". The relation of the two terms soul and spirit is well described by a recent writer : " The soul is spirit bodily conditioned; the spirit is life directly imparted by God, and therefore akin to God, and accessible to divine and regenerating influences."[56] It is in the spirit of man and from the Spirit of God that truth comes : " And when he, the Spirit of truth is come, he shall guide you into all truth". So, also, it is with the spirit that man is able to worship God : " God is a spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth ". The doctrine of the spirit in man must be correlated with the conception of the Holy Spirit of God, which may perhaps, in modern terminology, be interpreted as God immanent in the world.[57]

Compared with Greek and Indian ideas of the soul the Jewish and Christian conceptions emphasise the affective side rather than the rational and the contemplative. Nevertheless the term " heart " which occurs so frequently in Jewish and Christian scriptures has reference to the intelligence as well as the emotions. The two aspects are implied in St. Paul's saying : " With the heart man believ-

56. Scott Fletcher: op. cit. p. 69.

57. Luke xii. 19 ; Matthew xvi 25-26 ; John iii. 6 ; Romans viii. 16 ; John xvi. 13 ; iv. 24 ; see above pp. 126-7.

eth ". The promise of the Christian life is essentially one appealing to the heart: " And ye now therefore have sorrow; but I will see you again, and your heart shall rejoice, and your joy no man taketh from you ". So, also, the ideal of the activity of the soul is not predominantly knowledge, but that combination of intelligence and feeling which the term heart here connotes. " The good man out of the good treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is good; and an evil man out of the evil treasure of his heart bringeth forth that which is evil, for of the abundance of the heart his mouth speaketh. " The heart comes to mean the conscious life, the self, in a sense the moral character, and it is through moral character as so conceived that the soul is best able to come into intimate relation with God through his immanent Spirit. " The love of God hath been shed abroad in our hearts through the Holy Spirit which was given unto us ". By this relationship man has the power of distinguishing what is in accord with and what is opposed to the character of this inwardly known spirit. This capacity, prominent especially in the writings of St. Paul, called *syneidesei*, is translated in English versions, conscience. Conscience in the New Testament " is regarded as the consciousness of obligation to God, sufficiently clear to make all men responsible for their actions. It brings conviction of sin and bears witness to goodness, but its judgments are in accordance with the moral standard under which men live."[58] Conscience may be a "good conscience toward God, " or again " To them that are defiled and unbelieving nothing is pure and both their mind and conscience are defiled." One of the main tasks in the Christian life is thus the education and enlightenment of conscience through divine influence, and conscience is to be " purged

58. M. Scott Flectcher: ibid. pp. 105–6,

from dead works" through Christ. Thus the capacity denoted by the term conscience is not an infallible power inherent in man, but depends for its value upon the right relation of the human soul with God.[59]

The Quran contains very little concerning the nature of the soul:[60] to the scientific student of religions this fact supports the view, in many ways suggested, that the Arabs were not introspective nor philosophical until stimulated by contact with non-Arabic thought. There are three words associated with the idea: *ruh*, spirit; *nafs*, soul; and *qalb*, heart and mind. Man was created by God, the body from dust, or clay. He brought man forth from a single soul for a set purpose and a limited time. As an order of beings men were created higher than the angels, who were commanded to bow down to man. "The Lord said to the angels: Surely I am going to create a mortal from dust; so when I have made him complete, and breathed into him of my spirit, then fall down making obeisance unto him." Spirit is a divine reality: God breathes his spirit into men, or aids them by his spirit. The term which has most inward significance is "heart", which implies the source of motives and conduct. God made hearts for mankind, and in some he has written faith. Yet men harden their hearts, and their hearts swerve. Man has power to disobey God, or to obey, but no soul shall be obliged beyond its capacity. It is possible to be unjust to one's soul, to "sell" it, to waste it. Yet man may repent,—for God is merciful. He may

59. Romans x. 10; John xvi. 22; Matthew xii. 35; Romans v. 5.

60. There is even a passage which seems to acknowledge this:—"They will ask thee of the spirit (soul), say, 'The spirit comes at the bidding of my Lord, and ye are given but a little knowledge thereof.'" But the interpretations of this have been various. Ghazzali and other earlier commentators have regarded the reference as to the soul. Mahommed Ali: *Quran* p. 579 n. rejects the view, and translates by "revelation." H. Palmer also says "spirit", possibly "spirit of revelation".

love God, and be loved by God. It is difficult to come to any clear decision as to man's freedom according to the Quran. It appears in some passages as though the choice between good and evil, and so human destiny, lies entirely with the man himself, who alone is responsible. Even so he needs the help of God. In other passages it is only those whom God guideth who attain the good: he misleadeth whom he will. "Whomsoever Allah causes to err, there is no guide for him." Though every soul must taste of death, it will not die save with God's permission. God knows best what is in souls.[61]

The religion of the Sikhs is essentially one of devotion to God, and of the conduct of life in harmony with the teaching of the divine Guru. References to the nature of the soul are few and incidental, except those concerning its life in opposition to or in accord with the teaching. "The body is a mixture of wind, water, fire; within it is the changeful play of the intellect...The conscious soul dieth not. The precious jewel for which men go on pilgrimages dwelleth within the heart." "In the cavern of the heart there is an exhaustless store-house: in it dwell-

61. Note the use of the term *Spirit* in the *Quran*: "breathed into it my spirit" xv. 30; cf. xxi. 91; xxxii 5; xxxvii. 71; xlii. 51; lxvi 11; "strengthened him by the Holy Spirit" ii. 254 cf. v. 109; lviii. 24; On the term *Soul*: "sold their souls" ii. 103; unjust to his soul" ii. 231; cf. iii. 134; "soul shall taste of death" iii. 184; xxi. 35; "lost their souls" vi. 20; creation from a single soul, vi 99; duty of soul according to ability, vii. 42: soul departs, ix. 55; 86; cf. xxxix 42; for the good of his soul x. 108; xvii. 7; xli. 46; xlv. 15; soul rewarded for what it earns, xl. 17; soul forbidden from low desires lxxix 40; there is not a soul but over it is a keeper" lxxxvi 4. On the term *Heart*: "We set seals upon the hearts" x. 74; cf. vii. 46; ix. 87; xxx. 59; "those whose hearts are hard" xxxix 22. cf vii. 43; "united their hearts" viii. 63; Allah knows what is in the heart, xxxiii. 51; and removes fear from hearts xxxiv. 23; men lock their hearts xlvii 24.

eth God, the unseen the illimitable." The term most often used is *heart*, which signifies both the emotional disposition and the intelligence. It may be perverse, or it may be in love with the divine Lover. The soul reaps the results of its own acts. Yet "He from whom the filth of pride departeth seeth God in his soul and body."[62]

The soul, as a finite individual, has been and is regarded either as i. eternal; or ii. originated. There is, however, some difficulty in applying these terms. For example, Jainism maintains the eternal indestructible nature of the soul, but in its essence it is more than the finite self as man now experiences it. Then again, Brahmanical Hinduism and Buddhism in its Mahayana form maintain the eternity of the soul as the absolute. In the *Svetasvatara Upanishad* the self and the universal spirit are regarded as though distinct and yet both eternal: "There are two unborn ones: the knowing (Lord) and the unknowing (individual soul), the Omnipotent and the impotent."[63] Nevertheless, the event of the assumption of that *avidya*, that delusion, which gives the impression of finitude is a type of origination. That applies to these which are the chief instances of the belief in the eternal nature of the soul, and to all others. Buddhist literature gives no precise information how the collocation of states which constitute the basis of the delusory belief in the self first originates. A difference may be made in the form under which origination is conceived. The idea of the origin of something spiritual could only have been reached at an advanced stage of human thought. But before any such distinction was made between soul and body the origin of man was associated

62. Macauliffe: i. 291; ii. 177; 178; K. Singh: op. cit p. 430. says the Gurn explains that man is made up of the six component parts: 1. the four elements; 2. firmament or aether; and 3. God's own self or soul.

63. *Svet. Up.* i. 9.

with generation. The analogy is continued even in later phases of belief. The Polynesians relate that Tangaloa threw down a piece of earth from heaven and to people this, the island of Tonga, he sent his two sons with their wives. A similar story is found in the *Nihongi*, as to the origin of the Japanese. In the *Brihadaranyaka Upanishad* the origin of man is described as though by generation. "The One alone had no delight," so "He caused that self to fall into two pieces." From these as husband and wife "human beings were produced."[64] In Brahmanical Hinduism, however, in spite of the alleged identity of *atman* and *Brahman*, Brahma is usually described as creator. Ahura Mazda is also the creator of selves, as well as of the material world. For Judaism, Christianity, Islam and the religion of the Sikhs God is the creator of human souls. The idea of creation in all these instances means the production of the soul by the exercise of power accompanied or inspired by intelligence at least, but probably more, that is with a moral and spiritual purpose. The existence of human beings is thus not a type of inevitable as though mechanical emanation of universal Spirit, but a result of a definite attitude of the supreme moral and rational power. But the manner of creation and its relation to time are left undetermined in all these religions. In Zoroastrianism it is not clear whether the souls of men were created before this life: there is at least reference to the *fravashis* of the yet unborn.[65] There is nothing in Jewish or Christian scriptures to settle the question whether the soul is created by God at the time

64. *Brih. Up.* i. 4. 3.

65. cf. *Bundahis* II. 9-10. where Ahura Mazda is described as deliberating with the consciousness and the guardian spirits of men, as to whether they will always be protected, or will contend in bodily form with the fiend. See also the study "The Immortal Soul: Its Pre-existence, Life after Death, and Transmigration" by R. F. Gorvala in *The Spiegel Memorial Volume*. Bombay 1908. pp. 99-124.

of the present body or at some previous time. If the latter the soul may have pre-existed in another world, till the time of its birth here, or may have had one or more previous lives in the flesh. It may, however, be asserted with little hesitation that the predominant idea among Jews, Christians, and Muslims, is that each soul is first created at the beginning of this life on earth.[66] Consideration of the idea of the pre-existence of the soul leads naturally to the question of its destiny.

The absence of any real distinction between the body and the soul, a stage when the man seems simply like all other animals, is indicated most clearly in the manner of disposal of the dead. In the absence of ideas of a further life the body is usually left uncared for, to be eaten by carrion prey. Among the Masai of Africa, "when a man is on the point of death, people say he is about to cut his heart; and when he dies and is eaten (by hyenas), his soul dies with him. It is believed that all is over as with the cattle, and that the soul does not come

66. J. F. Bethune Baker: *Early History of Christian Doctrine* pp. 302–305 has given a short statement of early Christian ideas on this subject. "(a) Pre-existence was taught by Origen. All human souls were created at the beginning of creation, before the worlds, as angelic spirits. They sinned (except the one which remained pure and was in Jesus) and in consequence of their apostasy were transferred into material bodies.....(b) Creationism was the prevalent theory among the Eastern Fathers.....Each individual soul was a new creation by God, *de nihilo* (at the time of birth or whenever individual existence begins) and was joined to a body derived by natural process of generation from the parents.....(c) Traducianism was generally accepted in the West...The first man bore within him the germ of all mankind; his soul was the fountain-head of all human souls; all varieties of individual human nature were only different modifications of that one original spiritual substance. Creation was finally and completely accomplished on the sixth day. As the body is derived from the bodies of the parents, so the soul is derived from the souls of the parents – body and soul together being formed by natural generation."

to life again."[67] The beliefs concerning the fate of the soul after death indicate definite developments and levels of thought. In this matter, as always, earlier beliefs, or their effects have lingered on when more advanced views have come to prevail generally: the explanations of later times are efforts of more advanced culture. Thus, for the pre-historic Teutons, the fate of the soul in another world depended on the uninjured state of the body.[68] A similar implication may originally have held true for the peoples, like the Egyptians, who embalmed the bodies of the dead, for their preservation. Among the Peruvians it was thought that so long as the embalmed body was carefully preserved, with the personality of the deceased, the welfare of the departed spirit was secured. So long as food and other requisites were duly placed with the mummy, the spirit would be furnished with the spiritual essence of all that was offered materially.[69]

The life of the soul after death was thought of in early times, as simply a continuance of the life on earth. But it is possible that as in dreams the soul seems to leave the body but returns, death is analogous with them. The dreams in which a man's soul appears to leave his body are mostly those of night and darkness, so possibly the soul of the dead (that is, one who does not now return) was thought of as continuing in the dark realms of night and the shadow land of dreams. Thus the aspect of gloom characterises many early beliefs of the after-life of the soul. This may have been partly due to the effect of the dark gloom of the grave into which the body was put. There was a wide-spread belief that the soul dwells in or near the tomb. The early inhabitants of Britain regarded the tombs as the habitations of the dead. Helge, the hero of the Norse Edda, returned on horseback

67. A. C. Hollis : *The Masai.* p. xx. introd.
68. P. D. C. de la Saussaye : op. cit. p. 57,
69. Clements Markham : *The Incas of Peru* 1912 p. 111.

to his tomb, and received a visit from his surviving wife who lay down in the sepulchre. Within recent times Dr. Flinders Petrie says he saw in Egypt a woman remove the covering from a hole left at the top of the tomb chamber and talk down to her husband.

The idea that the after-life was one of gloom and darkness was shared by many peoples. In Homer, souls, the merest shadows of men as they were before death, come to drink the blood of Odysseus' sacrifice, so that their life and understanding might be renewed for a time. The ghost of Achilles says to Odysseus: "Rather would I live on ground as the hireling of another, with a landless man who had no great livelihood, than bear sway among all the dead that be departed."[70] When Achilles clasped the shade of Patroclus and saw it dissolve under his embrace like smoke he cried: "Verily, there is a certain soul and semblance even in the abode of Hades, though substance there be none." The same idea was common among the Romans. The souls wandered about at night: "At night we wander far and wide, for night frees the shades from their prison. Our laws bid us return to the land of forgetfulness at daybreak." For the Hebrews for long the belief was that the after-life in Sheol was one of gloom and empty monotony. The Psalmist asks: "Wilt thou show wonders to the dead? Shall the dead rise and praise thee? Shall thy loving kindness be declared in the grave? or thy faithfulness in destruction? Shall thy wonders be known in the dark? and thy righteousness in the land of forgetfulness?"[71]

70. *Odyssey* xi 489 trs. Butcher and Lang 1913. p. 187.

71. Ps. lxxxviii 12. R. H. Charles op. cit. 47 distinguishes two views of Sheol corresponding to the two accounts of man (see above p. 43--50). According to the earlier there was a certain degree of life, movement and remembrance in which the status, relations and customs of earth were reproduced. "The later view teaches that it is the land of forgetfulness, of silence (Ps. xiv 17), of destruction (Job. xxxi. 6)." "All the inhabitants of Sheol.....,are buried in profound sleep." (Job

The ancient Shinto *Yomi*, though similarly a place of gloom, does not appear to have been considered as an abode of departed human beings, though it may be an expression denoting the grave. *Yomi* seems rather to have been peopled with the personifications of diseases. There is also *Toko-yo-on*, the Eternal Land, a home of the dead, but probably even it has not played any prominent part in religious ideas. Motowori, a comparatively modern apostle of Shintoism says: "Hades is a land beneath the earth, whither, when they die all men go, mean and noble, virtuous and wicked without distinction."[72]

Gradually the lives of souls after death began to be differentiated according to the lives they had lived on earth. Amongst the Mexicans, as among the Teutons, heaven was a place of reward for heroes. The development of the conception of a judgment of the dead was well marked in the religion of Egypt, till finally the examination of the soul before Osiris was probably the most prominent of all features. The soul proclaimed its innocence of the forty-two sins, the heart was weighed against a feather (sin being supposed to make it heavy) and judgment was given accordingly. A similar idea underlies the widespread notion of a bridge over which the soul must pass. According to the Zoroastrian doctrine the pious are conducted over the *Chinvat* bridge into the House of Song, where God dwells with His own. "Forth to the Judge's bridge with all I go."[73] The bridge came to be represented as broad for the righteous, but narrow as a razor edge for the wicked who thus fell off into hell. The idea seems to have been borrowed by the Arabs in the Muslim belief

iii. 14–20). Indeed, all existence seems to be absolutely at an end. Thus Ps. xxxix 13: O spare me that I may recover strength before I go hence and be no more".

72. cf. Ashton: *Shinto*. p. 53 ff.

73. Ys. xlvi. 10.

in the Arch of *Sirat* and also by the Sikhs, as *Pul Sarat*: "Listen, *Pul Sarat* is narrower than the breadth of a hair, It is sharper than the edge of a two edged sword, and is red hot like iron heated by fire."[74]

Whether souls were created or are emanations they may have had one or more lives previous to any present one. Considering the brevity of human life as we know it, the doctrine of a plurality of lives is an almost inevitable concomitant of any belief in the eternal existence of souls. In one form or another belief in the transmigation of souls has been very widespread. It is implied in the practices of primitive and backward races, as well as accepted in religious philosophies of advanced civilisations. The belief is evident in the practice of people in Calabar, West Africa, who place before a newborn child an assortment of articles belonging to deceased members of the house, and " according to the one it picks out it is decided who the baby really is :—' See ! Uncle so-and-so knows his own pipe, etc."[75] Among the Khonds the priests examine the body a few weeks after birth and decide which ancestor has been reborn. In New Zealand the priests stand before the babe and repeat a long list of names of ancestors until the child cries out or sneezes at one of them : that one is then taken to be the spirit who is reincarnated. The Algonkins bury little children, who have died, on the paths most frequented by women of the tribe so that they may be re-born, and similarly the mummies of Peru are said to have been placed in the same position as they are known to exist in the progress of uterine life. Transmigration may be supposed to take the form of metemphychosis, that is, the soul may be re-incarn-

74. K. Singh : *History and Philosophy of the Sikh Religion*, p. 435-7.

75. M. H. Kingsley : *West African Studies* 1899 p. 145.

ated in a variety of forms. In Siam the spirits of the dead are supposed to inhabit the woods and streams. The North West Amazons believe in a temporary change of the disembodied spirit into the form of an animal, a bird, or a reptile—for the pursuance of an aim. Here it is thought that transmigration may occur at will.

It is sometimes represented that the doctrine of transmigration came to the Greeks from the Egyptians, but the Greek idea is more closely related with the Indian From the Egyptian point of view transmigration and metempsychosis (assuming any form, human or other) depended upon obtaining the necessary power, and was thought of as a privilege. It is the perfect soul which may assume any form and visit any place at will: it is not compulsory, not a condition from which to escape. "He may travel round the heavens with the Sun-god Ra, or arise from the shades with Osiris in the divine night of the 26th of the month Khoiak; he is even as a god, nay, he is himself a god, able to live in and by Truth, actually taking it, indeed, as food and drink. The power of this soul to incarnate itself at will became one of the chief reasons for embalming the body."[76] The satirist Lucian mocks at the belief as it was found among the Pythagoreans. He represents Pythagoras as claiming to have been present in a previous life at the seige of Troy, and on being asked whether Homer's account of the fight was true, replying: "What could Homer know, at that time he was a camel in Bactria."[77] A curious modification of the general conception is introduced into a Greek work by Sallustius, who along with Julian attempted to revive the ancient Greco-Roman religion. "If the transmigration of a soul takes place into a rational being it simply becomes the soul of that body.

76. A. Wiedemann: *The Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of Immortality*. p. 67.

77. A. Bertholet: *The Transmigration of Souls* p. 82

But if the soul migrates into a brute beast, it follows the body as guardian spirit follows a man. For there could never be a rational soul in an irrational being."[78]

The belief in the pre-existence and the transmigration of the soul appears as general and deeply rooted in Jainism, Buddhism, and the forms of Hinduism as its absence is in the other great religions. This difference is not merely an intellectual one, but in large measure affects the whole attitude to life and religion. For the Jain transmigration connotes the continuance of the soul in bondage to matter; for the Buddhist it means the persistence of desire centred in a delusory ego; for the Hindu it is before all a failure of the soul to escape from the appearance of finitude. But to all it is an expression of a "wearisome round of births and deaths."

His mother that was becomes his wife;
His wife that was becomes his mother;
His father becomes his son;
And his son again becomes his father,
Thus in the circle of Samsara
Like as the buckets upon the wheel
Revolve, so turns he ever backwards
To his mother's breast and to his birth.[79]

So again the *Bhagavad Gita* : "Never have I not been, never hast thou, and never have these princes of man not been; and never shall time yet come when we shall not be. As the Body's Tenant goes through childhood, and manhood and old age in this body, so does it pass to other bodies; the wise man is not confounded therein"[80] In all these religions the belief has come to be related with the doctrine of *karma*, variously interpreted, but implying fundamentally that the suffering and the bliss

78. G. Murray : *Four Stages of Greek Religion*. Appendix.
79. A. Bertholet: op. cit. p. 72.
80. Bhagavad Gita ii. 13.

of the soul depend solely and entirely on its own conduct. Whether the idea of a previous existence and of a series of transmigrations obtained general acceptance as an attempt to explain the inequalities of human fortune, or whether the doctrine of *karma* arose from the belief in transmigration cannot be established. The main principle of the belief in transmigration in these religions is now that of a compensation carried out through a series of lives until redemption from all re-birth is attained. This ethical form of the idea is found in the Code of Manu where it is stated in considerable detail, e. g. "He who steals gold will become a rat.....He who steals honey a stinging insect; he who steals milk a cow," and so on. The punishment for a faithless wife is to become a jackal.[81]

The difficulty for Buddhism of such a conception of transmigration without a belief in a soul was frequently raised, and answers given in a variety of similes. In the famous *Milinda Panho* which records the discussions between the king Milinda and the Buddhist monk Nagasena the reply is given: "It is like milk, which when once taken from the cow, turns, after a lapse of time, first to curds, and

81. *Manusmriti* xii. 61–69. In the thought of Empedocles transmigration is also forcibly represented as involving punishment for wrong-doing. "There is an oracle of Necessity, an ancient, eternal decree of the gods sealed with strong oaths: when one in sin stains his hands with murder, or when another joining in strife swears falsely, they become the spirits who have long life as their portion, who are doomed to wander thrice ten thousand seasons far from the blessed, being born in the course of time into all forms of mortal creatures, shifting along life's hard paths. For the might of the air drives them to sea and the sea spews them on the ground, and the land bares them to the rays of the bright sun, and the sun throws them in whirls of ether. One receives them from another, but all hate them. Of this number am I even now, an exile from god and a wanderer, but I put my trust in mad strife." C. H. Moore, op. cit. p. 57.

then from curds to butter, and then from butter to ghee. Now would it be right to say that the milk was the same thing as the curds, or the butter, or the ghee ? ' Certainly not; but they are produced out of it.' ' Just so, O king, is the continuity of a person or thing maintained. One comes into being, another passes away; and the rebirth is, as it were, simultaneous. Thus neither as the same nor as another does a man go on to the last phase of his self-consciousness." " Like a river " comments a Burmese Buddhist of today, " which still maintains one constant form, one seeming identity, though not a single drop remains today of all the volume that composed that river yesterday."[82]

Belief in transmigration has never been general amongst Zoroastrians, Jews, Christians, or Muslims, though individuals in these religious communities have professed it. One passage in the New Testament suggests that the idea was current in Palestine at the time of Jesus, who was asked : " Master, who sinned, this man or his parents that he was born blind ?".[83] And it has sometimes been suggested, but with little plausibility that Jesus had re-incarnation in mind when he said : " In my Father's house are many mansions, I go to prepare a place for you. " The later literature of Zoroastrianism has been considered to imply the doctrine. That the conception has been held by Sufis is not surprising : but it is interesting to note that in the most impressive reference to the belief yet found in Sufi literature, there is a distinctly optimistic note. Here the whole range of the universe from the apparently most

82. *Milinda Panho.* SBE. xxxv. ii. 2. 1. *Compendium of Philosophy.* S. Z. Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids. 1910. Introd. by Aung. p. 9.

83. St. John ix 2. Considering the admittedly late date of this gospel it is significant that this incident should only appear in it and not in the others. The same applies to the next quotation, also from St. John. xiv. 2.

inanimate, right up to and including man is taken up in a finely imaginative sweep and led to its supreme attainment in God.

"I died as a mineral and became a plant,
I died as a plant and rose to animal,
I died as animal and I was man.
Why should I fear? When was I less by dying?
Yet once more I shall die as man, to soar
With angels blest; but even from angelhood
I must pass on: all except God must perish.
When I have sacrificed my angel soul,
I shall become what no mind e'er conceived.
Oh, let me not exist! for Non-existence
Proclaims in organ tones, 'To Him we shall return.'"[84]

Expressed in this way each stage of the series of lives is higher than the last and embodies all that was good in the last, so that even personality is not lost. The retention of what personality means and includes is indeed intended in the religions which look for the final destiny of man in release from re-birth in unity and identity with the One universal spirit. However difficult it may be to express it, whether it is at all possible to express it, the state to which the soul is to attain is not thought of as infra-personal but as supra-personal. Nevertheless it is important to notice that the tendency is for the highest to be represented as *nirguna Brahman*, without qualities. Even when it is described as *sach, chit, ananda*, being, intelligence, and bliss, the factor of social relationship rarely if ever comes to mind, and unless in the highest the consummation of social relationships is found still as social, the impression of an impersonal end cannot be avoided. There is also for the forms of Hinduism here referred to, another belief, the effect of which on the actual

84. R. A. Nicholson: *The Mystics of Islam.*

attitudes and feelings of men it is difficult to estimate: the belief in the eternal cycles of the world through the four ages : *Satya Yuga, Treta Yuga, Dvapara Yuga* and *Kali Yuga*. According to this belief the lowest position being reached, the process then recurs : the highest condition is again felt, and is followed by a downward movement again to the lowest, and so on for ever. Thus it should be implied that immediately the goal of the series of transmigrations is reached in unity with the Supreme, the downward course begins again inevitably. Truly, the outlook is Sisyphian : but perhaps in actual daily life this cosmic cyclic process is generally forgotten.[85]

In contrast with the beliefs which at least appear

85. The idea of ages of the world and of an eternal oscillation may have been suggested in the first place by the changes of the seasons, by the stages of man's life, and by astronomical facts, though afterwards the association with these experiences was overlooked. The early Greek cosmologists according to J. Burnet : *Early Greek Philosophy* 2nd ed. 1908. p. 15 probably took " eternal motion " for granted, but p. 61. " it is wrong to identify the ' eternal motion ' with the diurnal revolution of the heavens" for the heavens are perishable. Herakleitos may have meant the idea of oscillation in saying : " All things are passing, both human and divine, upwards and downwards, by exchanges. " Burnet p. 169. See also 169–178. Even Parmenides says : " It is all one to me where I begin ; for I shall come back again there. " p. 197, and Empedokles speaking of love and strife as the two principles of reality, says : " For they prevail in turn as the circle comes round, and pass into one another, and grow great in their appointed turn " and " in so far as they never cease changing continually so far are they evermore, immovable in the circle. " p. 244. The earlier Stoics held a similar belief, a brief statement of which, with references, may be found in E. Zeller; *Stoics, Epicureans, and Sceptics*. 1892. p. 165 ff. : " No sooner will everything have returned to its original unity, and the course of the world have come to an end, than the formation of a new world will begin, so exactly corresponding with the previous world that every particular thing, every particular person, and every occurence will recur in it, precisely as they occurred in the world preceding...an endless cycle, "

to emphasise an absorption in or identity with the universal One are those for which the personal and the social have a fundamental significance. For them, union or communion with God seems to involve the continuance of personal individuality. The belief in personal immortality is related in origin with those early views of the life of the departed which represented it as a continuance of the type of life here on earth. The character of the representation of that life has been affected enormously by the aspirations which have inspired human activity on earth; the life beyond is to give a wider scope for the satisfaction of the profoundest longings and the most serious efforts. It is to heal those deepest wounds of the human spirit, due to the parting which death brings between those who love, and is to give opportunity for carrying this affection to still greater intensity. Further, in these beliefs in immortality is expressed a persistent yearning within the soul of man for what may be called justice, a rectification of the inequalities of the present life, the ardent desire that the virtuous shall attain happiness and that the wicked shall not ever escape a merited punishment. And in addition to all these, in contrast with the call, felt by most human beings, for incessant activity, there is a desire for peacefulness and rest. Influenced by these inner demands the human mind has formed its representations of a life beyond as the destiny of the soul. The last factor, the ethical demand, has been responsible for the conceptions of heaven and hell.

The Egyptians evolved a belief in a life of the good, those who in the judgment of the soul after death could claim innocence of the fortytwo sins. This after life was an existence similar to that of the gods, yea, even as a god. There is also a doctrine of hell, though in the extant sources, the idea is far less pronounced. On the other hand it is interesting to note that for the Greeks and the Babylonians

The Parthenon, Athens

while the after-life was for the majority a place of comparative inactivity and gloom, for the favoured few only there was an "Island of the Blest." In the poet Pindar an idea of personal immortality on the basis of ethical considerations comes to expression. The good, in the Islands of the Blest, among the gods, live a life free from tears: the others (beneath the ground?) bear suffering too great to look upon. For Plato and Aristotle it is the rational alone in the human soul which continues to exist. It is in the sense of returning to the divine unity from which it came that the Stoics conceived the immortality of the soul. This doctrine was generally accepted. As Seneca wrote: "It pleased me to enquire of the eternity of souls—nay, to believe in it. I surrendered myself to that great hope."[86] The hesitation here may be due to doubt as to the immortality of the individual soul as such. For Neoplatonism, "The Soul has life and being in itself, and life can never die." The supertemporal immortality of the highest in the soul is, however, associated with a form of never ceasing manifestation in the temporal. "The beatified Soul has its citizenship in heaven; but it must continue always to produce its like on the stage of time."[87]

The belief in personal immortality has been a prominent feature in Zoroastrianism, in later Judaism, in Christianity, and Islam. Immortality (*Ameratat*) for Zoroastrianism implies a permanent life in communion with Ahura Mazda: it is something which is experienced in this

86. T. R. Glover: *The Conflict of Religions in the Roman Empire.* 1910 p. 68.

87. W. R. Inge: op. cit. ii. pp. 21, 36; lectures xii and xiii give a general survey of the problem of immortality in Greek thought. The re-incarnation here implied is more like an idealised form of that optimistic view found in Egyptian thought than the pessimistic Indian attitude to re-incarnation.

life as well as in a future one.[88] "The duration of the soul is everlasting." "The rational animate being will exist for ever." Immortality in this sense is an aspiration of the soul which actuates the individual to a pious communion with and fulfilment of the will of the deity. In its liturgical forms, as in its beliefs concerning co-operation in the final conflict and triumph, Zoroastrianism also gives due recognition to the social character of immortality. It is a life which includes the joys of social relationship. For Zoroastrianism immortality is one of the greatest blessings for which men pray. After death each soul is met by his good thoughts, words, and deeds in the form of a beautiful maiden, the bad in the form of an ugly hag. The righteous pass over Chinvat to the House of Song. In the earliest thought the idea of hell is not much developed, but in the *Arda Viraf* later thought has reached a graphic description, comparable with that in Dante's *Inferno*.[89] In the development of the Jewish conception of immortality the social factor might even be said to predominate. It is the future triumph and welfare of the people as a nation which for long occupied the centre of hope and faith. The renewed life of the individual was in part to enable him to share in the Messianic kingdom on earth. The tendency of the Hebrew scriptures is to limit this participation in the glorious community to the righteous of Israel.[90] The Christian belief in immortality emphas-

88. L. H. Mills: *Lore of the Avesta*. p. 92 says of *Ameratat:* "Deathlessness as immortality of the soul beyond the grave is only the secondary meaning; though this secondary meaning remains fixed as the only one for the corresponding word Amrtatva in the Rig Veda. In the Avesta we believe its first practical meaning to be 'Long life' It went with *Haurvatat*. 'Health and long life' (on this earth)."

89. cf. the *Aogemaide*. SBE. IV. p. 372 ff.; *Vistasp Yt* viii SBE. XXIII. p. 342 ff. Dr. J. J. Modi has made an interesting comparison of the *Inferno* and the *Arda Viraf* in his *Dante Papers*. Bombay.

90. cf. R. H. Charles; op. cit. ch. iii.

ises the social character, as also the unity of this life with the next.[91] The "communion of saints," those here and those departed, is associated in the so-called "Apostles creed" with the "life everlasting." There is here no thought of the self-sufficiency of a perfect soul. Perfection as such involves the social: the love of man, and the love of God. The social aspect is not so much to the fore in Islam, but it seems implied in passages in which it is said that the blessed shall "be with their Lord." The doctrine of heaven and hell forms a feature in later Judaism, in Christianity, and Islam. In all of these the destiny of the individual soul is dependent at least in part on its own attitude, and the fate of the soul is represented as decided in a form of judgment at "the last day." The "day" is a very prominent idea in the Quran. Each soul will be paid what it has earned. This will be at the time of resurrection, the last day, the day of judgment. "On the day every soul will come to wrangle for itself and every soul shall be paid what it has earned, and they shall not be wronged." Those who guard against evil shall "be in gardens with their Lord, beneath which rivers flow, to abide in them", "rejoicing because of what the Lord gave them...Eat and drink pleasantly for what you did. Reclining on thrones set in lines, We will unite them to pure beautiful ones." But the condemned shall be "driven away to the fire of hell with violence."[92] Mahayana Buddhism also developed a doctrine of heavens and hells. The highest heaven, the Abode of Endless Light, is beyond form and so beyond thought and description. The land of Yama, the abode of the dead, has sometimes in popular Hindu thought the character of hell. The Sikhs

91. ibid. and S. D. F. Salmond: *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality*. Edinburgh. 1897.

92. *Quran*: ii. 46; iii. 14. 14; iv. 87; vi. 60; ii. 24; iii. 14; vii. 41, 42.

though they share with Hindus the belief in transmigration and of the absorption of the soul in God, also talk of *Sach Chand*, a paradise promised to the blest. The Hades of the ancient Greeks, and the Sheol of the ancient Hebrews, helped in the formation of the idea of an intermediate state which is fonnd in Catholic Christianity.[93]

Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity and Islam also include the belief in resurrection: not merely is the soul to continue its life, but the physical form, which death seems to separate from the soul, is to be re-assumed. The belief in resurrection has arisen from a variety of influences. In Nature the setting and rising of the sun, and the decay and re-birth of vegetation have suggested it. In dreams the dead appear with bodies as when living. The desire to meet again in the body the loved ones departed has also had a share in leading to the acceptance of an idea which has seemed not to be entirely impossible. The belief is to be found especially in religions which regard the body as itself a good factor in the constitution of man. It is associated with a time when the earthly form of existence is about to reach its final consummation. "The dead shall

93. In the later literature of Zoroastrianism the souls whose record of good and evil is exactly equal dwell in an abode between earth and the stars: it is called the *misva gatus*, the place of the mixed. Catholic Christianity maintains the belief in an intermediate state between the life on earth and the entrance to heaven; this is purgatory, in which souls are purified "as though by fire." The Roman Catholic Canon de Ragnan: *The Vatican*, p. 147 writes: "The Church recognises two sorts of spirits in the preternatural world, subject to God as in the natural world; celestial spirits, angels, and saints; and infernal spirits, demons, and damned souls. To these must be added the souls in purgatory, and those of children who have died without baptism, and who cannot consequently enter heaven, (*Sic*!) but who have not been guilty of anything that should send them to hell. Theologians place them in a limbo where they do not suffer". For a saner view of the intermediate state see H. Luckock: *The Intermediate State*.

rise up again and in their lifeless bodies corporeal life shall be restored", says the Zoroastrian scripture.[94] The Hebrew is somewhat similar. "Thy dead shall live; my dead bodies shall arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust: for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast forth the dead." "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt."[95] There are many who believe that the actual body of Jesus which died on the cross rose again and that the Christian belief in resurrection implies the same kind of resuscitation for all human beings. It would be difficult to justify this latter view from the New Testament. St. Paul, who more than all others emphasises the doctrine of resurrection, hardly lends support to this belief. It is not the natural body but a spiritual one which is to be assumed. "So also is the resurrection of the dead...It is sown a natural body: it is raised a spiritual body."[96] The Quran says: Does man think We shall not gather his bones? Yea! We are able to make complete his very fingers."[97]

Finally Ahura Mazda and the good spirits will triumph entirely over Ahriman and his evil confreres. Though Ahriman will rush back to the darkness from which he entered creation, all evil will perish, and it appears the belief that all the wicked will become righteous. Zoroastrianism stands for universal salvation and immortality. A few passages in the Hebrew scriptures suggest the approach to this conception, but they are lessened in force by others

94. From an Avestan fragment. See *Spiegel Memorial Volume*. Bombay 1908. p. 183. It is the form which is renewed at the resurrection: the individual assumes then a new body: cf, Williams Jackson quoted in Moulton. *Early Zoroastrianism* p. 163.

95. Isaiah xxvi 19 ;Daniel xii 2.

96. I. Cor. xv. 42–44.

97. Quran. lxxv. 3, 4 ; cf. l. 21 ; vii. 25 ; iv. 87.

which follow on closely. Thus, in the "new heaven and new earth," foreshadowed by Isaiah, the brethren of all nations are to be brought, and all flesh shall come to worship before God. Yet in the next passage they are described as looking on the carcases of the men that have transgressed, "for their worm dieth not, neither shall their fire be quenched." So in Christianity in the book of *Revelation*, in the "new heaven and new earth" all pain, all tears, all sorrow, all death are to pass away, but this prospect is again marred by a "lake which burneth with fire and brimstone." The attitude of Christianity may nevertheless be one of faith in the saying ascribed to Jesus: "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth will draw all men unto me." Similarly, it is maintained, though again in face of much representation to the contrary, that the *Quran* teaches that hell is only for "long ages" as compared with heaven which is eternal. "The fire is your abode to abide in it, *except as Allah is pleased; surely your Lord is wise and knowing.*" [98]

The Development of the Idea of the Soul.

Religion arises in and in part reveals an inner life in man. The course of human development has included an increase and an evolution of man's knowledge of the character of a reality, a power within, which has eventually acquired independent denomination as soul or self. It is significant that whatever the philosophical theories concern-

98. Dhalla: op. cit. pp. 292-3; Isaiah. lxvi 20, 23, 24.: Revelation xx. 4, 8; Quran vi.129, trs. Muhammed Ali, see note 1210. It must be admitted that it is a question open to discussion as to what the teachings of these religions on this subject are. The following possible views have been held: i. that heaven and hell are alike eternal; ii. Universalism, that heaven is eternal and hell temporary; iii. Conditional immortality, that those fit will attain to heaven, and the unfit will eventually be annihilated. It is surely reasonable to indicate that the religions mentioned may be considered to admit the widest view, and the largest hope.

ing the soul, or "no soul," which have become associated with the religions, they all recognise certain features which are the essential characteristics of soul. The call of the religions on men implies in each and every instance the idea that the soul is a power, able to exert itself in the way in which the religion suggests. As such an inner power the soul is distinct from the body, over which it has at least some control, and which it should control entirely. In this control definite attributes come into evidence, especially reason or intelligence, which finds in Nature and the power or powers beyond something of the order which it would attain in the acts of its own physical and psychical life. Such apprehension of and effort to attain order is also seen in the moral aspects of the life of the soul. The moral life of the soul is largely concerned with the relation with others in the whole of the community: but the religions show that it is not entirely so. In the moral consciousness the soul appears as related with a Power beyond itself which impresses upon it an objective ideal, which at different stages and by different minds is more or less vaguely, or more or less clearly apprehended. Distinct from the moral is the specifically religious life of the soul in which it feels a relationship, even a kinship with, somewhat which transcends Nature or the community. So the soul was conceived as spirit, and as such, of the same nature as the reality it comes to call God. Once this level of thought was attained, the origin of the soul could become a question separate from that of the origin of the body. To this question only two answers have been proposed: one that soul as spirit is in itself eternal and unoriginated; and the other that the souls of man are derived from the Supreme Spirit, God, either as some form of emanation or as created through his love, intelligence, and will. Similarly, the soul as spirit being distinct from the body the death of the latter has come to be regarded as not

implying the cessation of the life of the former. The inner life of the soul itself, its aspirations and hopes, and further, its relation with God, has expressed itself in the beliefs in its continued life either as absorbed in the Supreme Spirit or as in everlasting communion or union with Him. Such absorption or communion has not been conceived as a condition to be reached simply in a future life, but as possible of attainment, and in part attained within the religious experience in this life. The life of the soul in its own nature and in its relation with the community, with Nature and God, forms the object of the ideals of the religions. But whatever the ideal life of the soul, here or hereafter, may be, suffering and sin, marring its enjoyment have demanded and demand the direct consideration and efforts of mankind.

CHAPTER IV

SIN AND SUFFERING: SALVATION AND REDEMPTION

The reactions of the human soul to that which is beyond it, whether Nature, the Power or powers beyond Nature, or the community, are always tinged with emotions, some pleasurable, some painful, at this time joy, at that sorrow, sometimes trust, sometimes fear. The study of religions does not confirm the ancient Greek dictum that it was fear which first led men to the gods. The brightness of the sunlight, the coming of the dawn, these were to primitive men, even more so than to us, causes of joy as real as the fear which came with darkness and the storm. It is incorrect to consider any particular emotional or other need as constituting the main root of religion. From the outset and throughout the history of religions there is an apprehension, however vague and indefinite, of the trust, joy, and peace which is desired. Notwithstanding all this, suffering and sin have occupied, and occupy a position of such import in life, that religions are judged not only by their ideals as such, but by what they offer to human beings for the overcoming of these evils. Though religion is more than a cure for the human ills of suffering and sin, the provision of such a cure has been a fundamental motive in the origin and development of all the great religions. This task has affected both their beliefs and their practices.

In its relations with other souls in the community, and with the powers in and beyond Nature, and in the character of its own life, the soul is not merely striving towards an ideal more or less vaguely apprehended, not merely experiencing in part the realisation of the ideal with the felt co-operation of other powers, it also contains within itself oppositions, it finds itself in conflict with the community, with Nature, and the Power or powers beyond. Though the highest religious experience is a transcendence of the feeling of discord in an apprehension of the ideal, at most stages for most human minds partial and momentary, it is only through definite beliefs and attitudes that this condition is at all experienced. And in this, the concern is not with abstractions of thought, but with the felt realities of the life of the soul in its relation with the body, or in itself. The emotions and ideals, which the religions have set before men as the highest which life has to give, must form the last section of this study: here the problems of sin and suffering, salvation and redemption demand independent consideration.[1]

1. Systematic comparative treatment of these aspects of religions has been strangely neglected in books giving a general survey of religions. No books of importance devoted solely to these subjects are known to me, except some few concerned entirely with individual religions. Some popular studies, chiefly from the point of view and with the purpose of Christian missionaries, give some attention to them. It would be a distinct advantage not merely for the exposition in this chapter but also for general clarity of thought if it were possible to reserve the term *salvation* for salvation from sin and the term *redemption* for redemption from suffering, but in the religions these have been considered in such close relation, and also in so many ways confused that it is not possible to apply the distinction with any precision in this survey. Nevertheless, in the exposition of a critical and constructive philosophy of religion, these though related should be distinguished, even when the same reality may constitute the salvation from sin and the redemption from suffering, as is supposed to be the case in, for example, Christianity.

At the pre-animistic level, previously denoted as Simple Nature Worship, and for long after, the chief ills of mankind have appeared to be those of physical suffering:—the lack of food, the pains of disease, the calamities of external nature, conflicts of man with man, and man with brute. Even in the highest religions these physical ills form a definite problem. But from the outset there are other kinds of ills which are psychical rather than physical. To the primitive mind the darkness, the storm, the thunder,[2] the lightning, the approach and attack of wild animals or the anger of the tribal chief caused fear. By psycho-physiological reaction, leading to various types of physical expression, the feelings were in part relieved. Such acts as prostration, or the stretching forth of the hands, gave an outlet for the emotions and, helping to distract the attention, brought eventual calm. The one essential thing was to do something, and it did not very much matter what, nor how often it was done. Dancing, in simple rhythmic movements, songs with constant repetition of meaning and tune are both factors in early religion which have had the effect of distracting attention, and giving relief from the emotion of fear. (Incidentally, it may be remarked that they are also just as often, possibly more often, a stimulant of joyous feelings as well as the expression of such feelings.)

At the animistic stage suffering of all kinds was considered as due to the displeasure or the malevolence of spirits. It is at this level that the practices of Magic are most frequent. The development of religious practices and beliefs at the animistic level is influenced very largely by the character of social life in the community. Thus, the appeasement of the anger of the tribal chief would be sought by offering to him things regarded by men generally as desirable, in

2. Cf. for example, *Quran* ii. 19 "they put their fingers into their ears because of the thunder-peal, for fear of death."

the first place, food. Similarly, to the spirits of Nature felt as the cause of physical sufferings, offerings of the same kind were made in the same manner. Suffering is in such instances associated with the idea of having displeased a spirit who may be regarded as predominantly good or as almost entirely bad. Wrong doing is for the West Africans simply "an ill advised act against powerful, nasty tempered, spirits"[3]...ill advised, that is, because it leads to suffering. At this level there may be no genuinely ethical implication. With the belief in suffering as due to some form of opposition to spirits other than men arises the first religious attitude towards suffering, if this is of the character not of trying to co-erce the spirit to bring relief, but of approaching him in supplication.[4]

Suffering arises from the non-satisfaction of imperious demands of human nature. Here it is possible merely to point out that from the point of view of the philosophy of religion it is highly significant that man has to look beyond his own immediate nature to obtain satisfaction. Thus for his physical continuance he has to depend on Nature for food, and he has to protect himself by clothing and means of shelter from forces of Nature which would otherwise bring the race to early extinction. Feeling these to depend on powers other than himself, at all times after the animistic stage has been reached, man has appealed to the gods or God for relief from the suffering from want of food and of protection : trust and hope have helped to sustain him during the time of waiting for response. But further, in relation with that which is beyond him, he is able to do far more than simply continue his physical

3. M. Kingsley : *West African Studies*. 1899. p. 159.

4. The attitude of co-ercion is that of magic as distinct from religion, though when the individual appeals to the god to co-erce, or pretends to assume the character or power of the god in order to co-erce, there is a mixture of magic and religion. See Appendix A,

existence. He has developed cultures and civilisations, with all which they include in the form of art, science, and the advancement of religion itself; and in all of which he has found a source of redemption and salvation.[5]

The dependence of human nature is seen in one of its most intense forms in the demands of sex. At their lowest these may be predominantly physical: but the intensity of the need does not *ipso facto* lessen the more idealised and spiritual the relation becomes. Here, in fact, it is true to say that the " pangs of unrequited love " are more poignant the more idealised it is. The suffering from lack of physical satisfaction is trivial compared with the pain of mental alienation. It is not without reason that the suffering of the separation of lovers has been made symbolic of the suffering of the soul alienated from God. But sex has played another part in religion besides this symbolism. In the ecstasy of sex satisfaction, a sort of result of a unification of a *Mana* within and a *Mana* without, sorrow and suffering, are at least momentarily forgotten. Sex union has therefore found admission in the practices of some religions as a form of redemption from suffering. Thus, to give but one example, in certain forms of Tantric Hinduism, in the Panchatattva Sadhana, intercourse with women, one of the five " M ", s, constitutes a factor in the means of redemption.[6]

5. That is, mankind has been redeemed from suffering and saved from sin by occupation with those constructive movements of cultures and civilisation which have gone far beyond merely continuing man's physical existence. Although religions have rarely explicitly acknowledged this, they have nevertheless been among the chief influences leading to advances in culture, curiously enough, not infrequently especially in communities which have in theory appeared to teach an abandonment of the calls of the world, as for example, Buddhism.

6. The five "m"s are madya, mangsa, matsya, mudra,

As the relief which comes with the ecstasy of sex union has tended in some instances to an exaggeration of the physical in some forms of religious rites, in contrast with the genuine character of the persisting communion of souls which love connotes, so in other forms of excitement religious devotees have sought a freedom from the tedium of ordinary life and from its anxieties. To illustrate this one example will suffice, associated with the cult of Dionysus in ancient Greece. "The influence of night and torches in solitary woods, intoxicating drinks, the din of flutes and cymbals with a bass of thunderous drums, dances convulsing every limb and dazzling eyes and brain, the harking back as it were to the sympathies and forms of animal life in the dress of fawnskin, the horns, the snakes twined about the arm and the impersonation of those strange half human creatures who were supposed to attend upon the god, the satyrs, nymphs, and fauns who formed his train—all this points to an attempt to escape from the bounds of ordinary consciousness and pass into some condition, conceived however confusedly, as one of union with the divine power."[7]

Nature, at the stage of Simple Nature Worship, and throughout the course of the development of religion,

maithuna, meaning wine, meat, fish, grain, woman. The relations between the sexual and religion need a careful and more sympathetic and exhaustive treatment than they have yet received. The modern psycho-analytical methods might yield fruitful results in this connection. Of the reality of the sexual in Tantric Hinduism the evidences of literature and sculpture leave no room for doubt, in spite of the wish to do so by some pious Hindus who have not enquired into its underlying significance.

7. G. L. Dickinson: *The Greek View of Life*. 1905. p. 30f. Though the *conception* may have been, as suggested by Mr. Dickinson, that of union with the divine power, we may suppose that the relief was a sort of forgetfulness of trouble, induced by distraction of attention in the intense excitement.

has given the simplest and to some minds the most immediate form of redemption from suffering, in the contemplation of those aspects which are beautiful and promote a disposition of calmness. As some phenomena have produced feelings of awe and submission, others have raised men above the consideration of their own pain. Similar to this is the effect of art, especially music and some forms of sculpture, particularly images used in religion. This is one of the main causes of the persistence of the use of images in religions of the highest cultures. Who can doubt the reality of the influence of the contemplation of the image of the sitting Buddha? Edkins talks even of Buddhist idols of clay with "their customary expression of benevolence and thoughtfulness."[8] Certain it is that Buddhist images have helped millions of suffering minds to realise a feeling of resignation and of fortitude. Gardner refers to the smile on the faces of the images of the gods of ancient Greece "to express and even to induce the benignity of the deity." The late Greek writer Dion Chrysostom appreciated the reality of this influence, especially in relation to the masterpieces of Phidias: "A man whose soul is utterly immersed in toil, who has suffered many disasters and sorrows and cannot even enjoy sweet sleep, even such a one I think, if he stood face to face with this statue, would forget all the dangers and difficulties of this mortal life; such a vision you, Phidias, have invented and devised, a sight to lull all pain and anger and to bring forgetfulness to every sorrow." For centuries pictures and images of Jesus and His mother and of the Christian saints have been aids to engender consolation and peace in the minds of Catholic Christians.[9]

8. *Religion in China.*

9. E. A. Gardner: *Religion and Art in Ancient Greece*, pp. 22, 81.

Redemption from suffering has been sought in a very different manner from such contemplative appreciation of the beautiful : it has been sought in death. Thus the Greek Aeschylus :

" O healing Death ! say me not nay, but come,
Sole cure art thou for woes incurable.
Sorrow lays not her hand upon the dead. "[10]

The Stoic maintained that if life became intolerable, he had the means to end it with his own hands. But it was with the whole outlook of the Egyptian belief in continued existence after death as though a god, that an Egyptian could say to his soul : " Death seems to me now the cure for all illness, the escape into the open after fever. Death seems to me now like the perfume of the lotus flower, like repose on the shore of a land of enchantment, like the return home of a sailor. Death seems to me now like the desire felt by a man after many years of captivity to see his home again. "[11] In similar fashion, as escape from the finite to the infinite must be understood the Hindu passage : " Man has three births : he is born from his mother, reborn in the person of his son, and he finds his highest birth in death. "[12]

Certainly at the lower levels of human civilisation, and in some respects even at the highest, the worst sufferings are in those calamities in which the whole community, or by far the greater part of the community, is engulfed. In connection with such calamities, as pestilence and famine, destructive storms, severe defeat by opposing peoples, the the community as such performs its religious rites of propitiation of the gods and supplication of them. Although it may be recognised or supposed that individuals have

10. Quoted from J. Adam : *The Vitality of Platonism and Other Essays.* p. 195.

11. A. Moret : *At the Time of the Pharoahs.* p. 266.

12. cf. *Aitareya Upanishad* iv.

broken some custom or rule, the community as a whole is known to suffer. These two aspects of wrong-doing are thus brought into relief: its cause in the individual and its effects in the community. An interesting illustration is to be found in the Hebrew story of the defeat of the Israelites by the men of Ai which is represented as due to the sin of Achan in taking secretly for himself part of the spoils of war.[13] Another example of the effects which the primitive type of mind regards as accruing to the community through the sins of its individual members may be seen in the following practice among the Karens of Burma when a case of adultery has been discovered: "The elders decide that the transgressors shall buy a hog and kill it. Then the woman takes one foot of the hog and the man takes another and they scrape out furrows in the ground with each foot, which they fill with the blood of the hog. They next scratch the ground with their hands and pray: God of heaven and earth, God of the mountains and the hills, I have destroyed the productiveness of the country. Do not be angry with me. Now I repair the mountains, now I heal the hills, and the streams and the land. May there be no failure of crops. May there be no more unsuccessful labours, or unfortunate efforts in my country. Let them be dissipated to the foot of the horizon. Make thy paddy fruitful, thy rice abundant. Make the vegetables to flourish. If we cultivate but little, still grant that we may obtain a little."[14] The recognition of the social consequences of wrong-doing is evidenced in many communal religious rites for its expiation. The actual content of the conception of wrong-doing is, and has always been largely constituted by what is judged socially harmful and is socially condemned. The displeasure of the spirits and gods was

13. Joshua. vii. 18.

14. J. G. Frazer: *Psyche's Task.* 1909 pp. 31–32.

probably at first conceived analogously with the anger of the offended tribal chief, voicing the communal disapproval.

An early attitude which through later sanctions and forms of expression is allied with wrong-doing is that associated with pollution. This attitude probably grew up in the first place from certain physiological reactions (on which ultimately our whole distinction of clean and unclean are probably based).[15] But in the course of time a more or less direct connection between at least some of these reactions and physical welfare came to be recognised, and the weight of social custom helped to form part of the objective compulsion eventually expressed in ritual codes. A few examples must suffice. Among the Babylonians: "Sin was originally merely the transgression of ritual laws, and as such appears throughout Babylonian literature,"[16] and the same thing is true for many other peoples. Amongst the sacred books of the Hindus, of the Zoroastrians, and the Hebrews

15. cf. L. R. Farnell: *The Evolution of Religion*. p. 94. "The sense-instinct that suggests all this was probably some primeval terror or aversion evoked by certain objects, as we see animals shrink with disgust at the sight or smell of blood. The nerves of savage men are strangely excited by certain stimuli of touch, smell, taste, sight; the specially exciting object is something that we should call mysterious weird, or uncanny". A considerable part of the anxiety of the primitive mind is associated with what has been called *taboo*, "*Taboo*," says J. E. Carpenter: *Comparative Religion*. p. 200, "contains emphatically an element of mystery. It comes out of a vague dim background, and implies that some strange power will be set in perilous operation if a certain thing is done." It is related closely with the ideas of pollution. W. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* p. 41 says of the Romans: "The original meaning of *religio* and *religiosus* may after all have been that nervous anxiety which is a special characteristic of an age of *taboo*. To discover the best methods of soothing that anxiety, or in other words, the methods of disinfection, was the work of the organised religious life of family and State."

16. J. Morgenstern: *The Doctrine of Sin in the Babylonian Religion*, Berlin 1905. p. 2.

are definite codes dealing with forms of pollution and how they are to be got rid of. The Zoroastrian code, the *Vendidad* is occupied largely with pollution and forms of purification. Thus, defilement may come through contact with a dead body; hair and nails separated from the body are considered as dead matter and so as defiling. A common source of ritual pollution was blood. Here it is not so much a matter of physical uncleanness as the mysterious associations of blood with life. It is present at the birth of the young from the mother, or again in certain circumstances it gushes forth and flows away and the being dies. As associated with life it is used in the sacrifices in the approach to the gods, and so gains further sanctity. In one way and another it thus becomes *taboo*, and contact with it leads to requirement of ritual purification. Religious sanction has thus been given, for example, to the isolation of women in their periodical courses. By a common tendency of early thought, associating like with like, it came to be believed that blood, as living and associated with the origin of life, could overcome pollution. The blood of the sacrificial animal was believed to possess cleansing power. Though this was at first as only regarding ritual pollution, it came to refer to sin in its ethical forms. Amongst the Romans "In order to be sure of the eradication of all guilt men lay down in a pit, where the blood of the sacrifical animal flowed all over them, in the conviction that they would arise entirely new-born." As might be expected, sin as identified with physical pollution is associated with physical acts of purification. In most religions water has been regarded as the chief purifier, and even when the idea of physical pollution has been abandoned, the ceremonial use of water at least as a symbol of purification from sin has remained.

The idea that suffering is due to sin may be traced

through most ancient and modern religions in one form or another. "All calamities, personal or national in China," says Dr. Edkins, are regarded as proofs of sin, especially such as "are sudden and overwhelming." Some Negro tribes regard death of any but the old, especially violent death, as punishment for sin. The Dyaks of Borneo consider death the wages of sin. In the following accounts of the different religions the same general association will be seen to recur again and again. The discussion of suffering thus leads to the notion of sin. The conceptions of sin have undergone a development rather with regard to what is actually to be included in the term than as to its main principle. The earliest conceptions were of necessity vague and indefinite. No distinction was felt between a wrong done to a member of the tribe and one done to a non-human spirit. The consciousness of sin is of a wrong committed in relation (at first) to some other, whether an individual, the community, or a non-human spirit. It is well, however to distinguish the religious idea of sin from the merely ethical by maintaining that for the former some discord and disharmony with a Power or powers beyond Nature and the community is implied. From this point of view, from its earliest conception to its latest theory sin is some thought, feeling, or action, regarded as being disharmonious with the wishes or the will of the divine. however that my be conceived. The early mind considers that wrong which appears to be associated with some form of suffering. If evil comes, it is because the god is angry, and that which makes him angry is sin. But though the calamity may come, it is not always clear what wrong has been committed[17]. If there has

17. We thus have what have been called " secret sins ". This phrase is obviously ambiguous. It has been used to mean : i. wrongs committed. which one was not aware of committing; and ii. wrongs committed in secret. A conception of sin tenable by modern critical

been a recent breach of social custom, that has been supposed to be the wrong, and occasions for such association must have been frequent enough. In this way religious sanction has been acquired for social rules. But it must be insisted that the characteristic of sin as something religious is the relation beyond the community and beyond Nature as such. The early mind comes to infer wrong-doing or sin from misfortunes : this is of the character of an inference from effects to causes. In higher religions there is a feeling of inner disapproval even when the apparent consequences are such as the early (and even later) mind might judge as (at least, selfishly and physically) good. The early mind has often had a religious idea of sin which is not ethical. In modern times we have had not infrequently conceptions of sin represented as ethical but as not religious. The position of the emphasis varies : at first predominantly on the external act and its consequences it is moved more and more on to the inner attitude of will and the feeling of loyalty or disloyalty to God. Ultimately sin is wrong attitude of will towards God or gods.. On one of the tombs of the Theban kings of ancient Egypt the creator is represented as saying : "Men who were sprung from mine eye have rebelled against me ".[18] The Hebrew story of Adam and

thought would not include the former. Though it might recognise the act as unfortunate and of bad consequence, it could not regard it as coming in the category of sin, properly so-called. " Secret sins ", in the first sense, are frequently referred to in ancient religious literatures. So e. g. *Rig Veda* vii. 58. 5. " What secret sins or open stirs their anger, that we implore the swift ones to forgive us ". Again in the Babylonian psalm : M. Jastrow : *Religious Belief in Babylonia and Assyria :* p.330. " The sin I have done, I know not ". Also in the Hebrew *Psalms* xc. 8; and xix 12 : " who can understand his errors ? Cleanse me from secret faults. "

18. G. Steindorf : *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians.* p. 44.

Eve, as representing the first human sin, shows it as an act of deliberate disobedience.[19]

The religion of Babylonia and Assyria gives us an excellent example of earlier forms of thought, feeling, and practice with regard to suffering and sin. There is in the entire religious literature an underlying fear of divine anger, manifested, of course, in some form of physical calamity. "Death and sickness stood like spectres in view of all men, ready at any moment to seize their victims. Storms and inundations, however needful for the land, brought death and woe for man and beast." These evils denoted the anger of the gods, and such anger implied something displeasing to them on the part of suffering mankind, and generally conceived as some offence against ritualistic purity. To overcome this, purification rites, with fire and water as the chief elements, were resorted to. It is the consequences of sin from which the suppliant wishes to obtain redemption. "Many are my sins that I have committed: May I escape this misfortune, may I be relieved from distress!" Nevertheless, though the genuinely ethical and the deeper conception of sin is hardly evident, the concept is a religious one in the confession to and earnest appeal to the deities for redemption.

"O god, whoever it be, my transgressions are many,
great are my sins.
The transgressions I have committed, I know not.
The sin I have done, I know not.

19. Dr. Tennant's: *The Concept of Sin.* Cambridge 1912, though written in relation to Christian doctrine, must be regarded as the most important critical study of the nature of sin published in recent times. A survey of the positions of other religions in the light of his analysis is a great need, but one which the present writer has not had opportunity to undertake satisfactorily. For this subject more terms are required, and a clearer differentiation between them. It would be an advantage if the term *sin* could be retained solely for a concept with definitely religious implication.

The unclean that I have eaten, I know not.
The impure on which I have trodden, I know not...
The god in the rage of his heart encompassed me.
A god, whoever it be, has brought woe upon me.
A goddess, whoever it be, has distressed me.
I sought for help, but no one took my hand,
I wept, but no one hearkened to me,
I broke forth in laments, but no one listened to me.
Full of pain, I am overpowered, and dare not look up.
To my merciful god I turn, proclaiming my sorrow,
To the goddess (whoever it be) I turn proclaiming
my sorrow).....
O god (whoever it be, turn thy countenance towards me,
accept my appeal)
O goddess, whoever it be, look mercifully on me,
accept my appeal).[20]

It is an interesting fact that though the ethical has a distinct place in the religious literature of Egypt, as in the judgement of the deceased in regard to the fortytwo sins, the problem of suffering rarely comes to view. Further, as represented in tha *Book of the Dead* the deceased always declared his innocence of the sins. The recognition of guilt comes only in later ages, and even then it is not prominent. The god is appealed to rather as one who will remove suffering and ignorance: " as the herdsman leads the herds to pasture, so dost thou, O Amon, lead the suffering to food,...Thou wilt rescue me out of the mouth of men when they speak lies; for the Lord of Truth, he liveth in truth." The devotee confesses his own waywardness : " All day I follow after my own dictates, as the ox after his fodder. " He looks to God not only for enlightenment, but

20. M. Jastrow : *Religious Beliefs in Babylonia and Assyria.* pp. 312, 330–1 ; see also *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria.* ch. xviii. S. Langdon : *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms.* Paris. 1909. and J. Morgenstern : *The Doctrine of Sin in the Babylonian Religion.*

also for salvation from all affliction.

"Thou, O Amon, art the lord of the silent,
Who cometh at the cry of the poor.
When I cry to thee in my affliction,
Then thou comest and savest me.
That thou mayest give breath to him who is
bowed down,
And mayest save me lying in bondage.
Thou, Amon-Re, Lord of Thebes, art he,
Who saveth him that is in the nether world,...
When men cry unto thee.
Thou art he that cometh from afar."[21]

Greek mythology has its accounts of how evil came to mankind. The curiosity of Pandora led her to disobedience of the command of the gods, and opening the box all ills came out to mankind. So again Prometheus stole fire from the gods and brought it to man: his sufferings, symbolic of those of mankind, were a punishment for his insolence. Early religious philosophy recognised the problem of suffering. Thus Empedokles speaks of those who are distraught by grievous wickedness, who will not unburden their souls of wretched sorrows; and of "some who for many a weary day have been pierced by the grievous pangs of all manner of sickness, beg to hear from me the word of healing." But if this word of healing was "mad strife" it could have given as little comfort as the teaching of Herakleitos. Homer had wished that strife might perish among gods and men, but Herakleitos thought he was wrong, and reiterated the view of Empedocles: "For of a truth they (strife and love) were aforetime and shall be; nor ever, methinks, will boundless time be emptied of that pair." For Greek religion suffering was first associated with

21. J. H. Breasted: *Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt.* 1912. p. 355, 354, 351.

the breaking of ritual law : even when there is a social aspect to the wrong, as in murder, it is from the stain of blood, rather than from moral turpitude that release is sought, and this by purification. In the plays of Aeschylus, in which guilt and punishment form a frequent theme, it is the punishment that is the tragedy. "Whoso showeth hands that are undefiled, lo, he shall suffer nought of us for ever, but shall go unharmed to his ending. But if he hath sinned, like unto this man, and covereth hands that are blood-stained : then is our witness true to the slain man." Plato tells us of "Mendicant prophets" who "perform their ritual and persuade not only individuals, but whole cities, that expiation and atonement for sin may be made by sacrifice and amusements which fill a vacant hour." This was, indeed, but an application of the general idea of the relation of men and gods, according to which favours were obtained in recognition of sacrifices, and punishment inflicted for their neglect. Nevertheless a disciplinary idea of suffering was not entirely overlooked. "It is Zeus, who guideth mortals on the road to wisdom, who hath appointed the sure ordinance : by suffering thou shalt learn."

The Orphics sought in their practices to overcome suffering and sin by, as Aristotle put it, being "affected in a certain way and put into a certain frame of mind." Much of the higher Greek thought followed the Socratic dictum : "Virtue is knowledge," and sought salvation through knowledge, at the highest the knowledge of God. Aristotle insisted on the importance of the recognition of the fact of volition. Stoicism found redemption in the life of calm acquiescence in the fortunes of experience in the light of reason. It is impossible to determine whether Stoicism was ever more than the attitude of a few leading minds : nevertheless to these few it was a form of redemption. Everything had to submit to reason, "the embodiment in man of the *sperm-*

atikos Logos." "To be godlike a man had to suppress his affections as he suppressed his own sensations of pain and hunger." But it is difficult to find in Greco-Roman thought any profound idea of the need of repentance and of forgiveness. Even if in the philosophical conceptions wrong-doing became more ethically conceived, the idea seems to have become less religious.[22]

This last, if true, was probably one reason why religious movements from Egypt and the East became popular in the Greco-Roman world. For they helped to cultivate an expression of a genuine inner need which the acknowledgement of guilt connotes, and together with this offered means for the satisfaction of the need. "These religions pretended to restore lost purity to the soul either through the performance of ritual ceremonies or through mortifications and penance. They had a series of ablutions and lustrations supposed to restore original innocence to the mystic. He had to wash himself in the sacred water according to certain prescribed forms. This was really a magic rite, because bodily purity acted sympathetically upon the soul, or else it was a real spiritual disinfection with the water driving out the evil spirits that had caused pollution. The votary, again, might drink or besprinkle himself with the blood of a slaughtered victim or of the priests themselves, in which case the prevailing idea was that the liquid circulating in the veins was a vivifying principle capable of imparting a new existence. These and similar rites used in the mysteries were supposed to regenerate the initiated person and to restore him to an immaculate and incorruptible life."[23]

22. J. Burnet: *Early Greek Philosophy.* 1910. pp. 261; 256; 241; G. L. Dickinson: *The Greek View of Life.* p. 25; *Republic.* Jowett's trs. quoted by G. L. Dickinson. p. 23; Aeschylus, quoted by J. Adam, op. cit.; J. Burnet, ibid. p. 91. T. R. Glover: *Conflict of Religions in the Roman Empire.* 1910. p. 66. cf. above pp. 210, 211.

23. F. Cumont: *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism.* p. 39.

The idea of purification assumed a more ethical and spiritual form in Neo-platonism. Somewhat in the manner of some Eastern systems, suffering and sin are here associated with contact with matter. There is little suggestion of artificial means of self-torture to free the spirit from the body : rather the process is one of spiritual discipline, an inner cultivation of the life of the spirit. "To purify the Soul" signifies " to detach it from the body and to elevate it to the spiritual world. The Soul is to strip off all its lower nature, as well as to cleanse itself from external stains ; what remains when this is done will be ' the image of Spirit '. ' Retire into the Self and examine thyself. If thou dost not yet find beauty there, do like the sculptor who chisels, planes, polishes, till he has adorned his statue with all the attributes of beauty. So do thou chisel away from thy Soul what is superfluous, straighten that which is crooked, purify and enlighten what is dark, and do not cease working at thy statue, until virtue shines before thine eyes with its divine splendour, and thou seest temperance seated in thy bosom with its holy purity ! ' This ' purification ' is mainly a matter of constant self-discipline, and especially of the thoughts. "[24]

Buddhism originated in large measure as a way of redemption from suffering, and has always been preached essentially as such. As one of its main portions, the

24. See B. A. G. Fuller : *The Problem of Evil in Plotinus*. Cambridge 1912. ch. IV. Matter as the Principle of Evil; e. g. p. 234. " Apply this directly to the problem of sin, and it means that Matter is the cause of evil doing. It is useless to argue that one should overcome Matter. The spirit that is tainted by Matter cannot overcome. Our disposition, as we know, is affected by bodily changes and states. The only thing to do is to flee the bodily and material altogether. Thus only can we overcome Evil. " And p. 297. " Matter is placed over against the ' spiritual ' worlds as darkness against light. " But Plotinus endeavoured to transcend this dualism. W. R. Inge ; op. cit. ii. p. 165.

statement which Gautama is supposed to have made immediately after attaining enlightenment contains a description of phases of human suffering; an enunciation which may be regarded as the starting-point of Buddhism both historically and doctrinally. Gautama had so tasted of the joys of life that he was overcome with fear and anxiety at the possibility of their loss. Disease and death would come to those he loved and to him. At the end of seven years of earnest seeking, the saving knowledge came to him :[25] the Four Sacred Truths and the Noble Eightfold Path. "This, O Monks, is the sacred truth of suffering: Birth is suffering; old age is suffering; to be separated from the loved is suffering; to be united with the unloved is suffering; not to obtain what one desires is suffering: in short, the fivefold clinging (to the earthly) is suffering." "This, O Monks, is the sacred truth of the origin of suffering : It is the thirst of being. It leads from birth to birth, together with lust and desire which finds gratification here and there: the thirst for pleasures; the thirst for being; the thirst for power."[26]

So, for example, the Psalms of the Sisters, with a vivid reality of deep feeling, echo these ills as the causes leading to their assuming the life of *bhikkhunis*. "Old age, disease, hang imminent to crush". The gloom of ignorance, the lust of sense, ill-will, delusion of the self, the taint of rites and ritual, and doubt, the passions that would rage within, the sense of craving, these and all distractions must cease. Sorrow and ill are seen in all the springs of life; even

25. According to the traditional life of the Buddha, as, e. g. in the *Buddha-carita* of Asvaghosha, he first became aware of these evils by observing an old man, one suffering from disease, and one dead, and after these a religious ascetic. The account of a period of seeking for truth may be contrasted with the later, especially Mahayana, belief that the Buddha knew the truth before his birth, at which he simply came to teach mankind.

26. As quoted by H. Oldenberg : *Buddha : his life, teachings, and order*, p. 318.

loveliness passes away, and weary of it one is disillusioned. Some felt the deep sorrow of the loss of their babes, and sought release from it: "that consuming grief for my dead child, which poisoned all the life of me, is dead". Suffering and misery of life are due to greed, wantonness, infatuation and all fleshly lusts,

Whence cometh fear for loss and many a care.
Here is no ground for lasting steadfastness.
Here men, heedless and maddened with desires,
Corrupt in mind, by one another let
And hindered, strive in general enmity.
Death, bonds, and torture, ruin, grief, and woe,
Await the slaves of sense, and dreadful doom.[27]

The feeling of impermanence and the anxiety at loss or fear of coming ills are closely associated with suffering as depicted in the canonical books.

Alas! impermanent is everything in life!
Growth is its very nature and decay.

* * *

Ever my heart is filled with sore dismay,
Ever my mind with anguish is o'ercast,
For things I looked for but which happened not,
And for the things that happened in their stead.

Tangled within and without, infatuated by the direful bait that draws the world, sights, sounds, tastes and smells, and tangibles,—stages of life in turn abandon us. Even the beauties and the powers of earthly life are ultimately only a snare and a delusion, and should be remembered as such. "The nature of all things near and dear to us, O King, is such that we must leave them, divide ourselves from them, separate ourselves from them. Pass not away, O King, with longing in thy heart. Sad is the

27. *Therigatha*. Trs. Mrs. Rhys Davids. 1909; 94; 142; 165 1; 156; 6; lxxi; 52; 343.

death of him who longs, unworthy is the death of him who longs.....long not after life ! " Suffering is essentially a disease : it is in relation to the cause and continuance of this disease that the idea of wrong-doing has significance. It might with good reason be maintained that Buddhism has no religious concept of sin. " The Founder himself is called the Great Healer, the World's Physician. The most central of all Buddhist ethical doctrines—the Four Ariyan Truths—is formulated on the plan of a medical diagnosis : namely, the nature of the malady, its cause, its cessation, its curative regime. "[28]

As wrong desire is the root cause of all suffering, according to Buddhism, the way of redemption is ultimately that of the transcendence of such desire.

" Suppress desires, then misery's suppressed ;
From misery suppressed, suppressed is pain. "

" Cast out the passionate desire again to be. " " Get thee away from life-lust, from conceit, from ignorance, and from distraction's craze. Throw off the chain of birth and death ". It is through birth after birth that suffering can continue, thus in the cessation of rebirth through the loss of all desire to live with the forms of sense will come release from suffering:

"Through birth and rebirths endless round,
Seeking in vain I hastened on,
To find who framed this edifice.
What misery !—birth incessantly !
O builder ! I've discovered thee !
This fabric thou shalt ne'er rebuild !
Thy rafters all are broken now,
And pointed roof demolished lies.

28. *Sanyutta (Sagatha-Vagga).* Trs. Mrs. Rhys Davids. 1917. vi. 2. 5. ; ii. 2. 7 ; vii. 1. 6 ; iv. 2. 7 ; 1. 4 ; *Maha-Sudassana Sutta.* SBE. XI. ii. 33 ; Mrs. Rhys Davids : *Buddhist Psychology.* p. 78.

This mind has demolition reached,
And seen the last of all desire ![29]

But there are many methods of attaining this end : the path is an Eight-fold Path: " This, O Monks, is the sacred path which leads to the extinction of suffering; the extinction of this thirst by the annihilation of desire, letting it go, expelling it, separating oneself from it, giving it no room. " " This, O Monks, is the sacred truth of the path which leads to the extinction of suffering: it is the sacred eight-fold path, to wit: Right Faith, Right Resolve, Right Speech, Right Deed, Right Life, Right Effort, Right Thought, Right Self-Concentration. "[30]

Though early Buddhism teaches the suppression of desire of continued physical life, it does not countenance methods of self-torture for expiation or to acquire merit. Gautama warned men against two extremes which do not lead to peace: " There are two extremes, O Monks, from which he who leads a religious life must abstain. What are those two extremes ? One is a life of pleasure devoted to desire and enjoyment: that is base, ignoble, unspiritual, unworthy, unreal. The other is a life of self-mortification : it is gloomy, unworthy, unreal. The perfect one, O Monks, is removed from both these extremes and has discovered the way which lies between them, the middle way which enlight-

29. *Sanyutta Nikaya* : i. 4. 4 ; *Therigatha* 14 ; 167 ; H. C. Warren : *Buddhism in Translations*. 1915. p. 83. From introduction to *Jataka*. i. 76.

30. H. Oldenberg. ibid, p. 319. Although there is in Buddhism no idea of sin in the religious sense of wrong attitude towards a higher Power, the ethical is definitely emphasised. There are Ten Fetters which hold mankind. 1. The delusion that individuality is immortal. 2. The doubt that there is a moral world order and way of salvation. 3. The superstition that rites and ceremonies can aid in salvation. 4. Sensuality and evil passions. 5. Hatred and ill-will to others. 6. Love of this life. 7. Desire of this life. 8. Pride. 9. Superciliousness. 10. Ignorance.

ens the eyes, enlightens the mind, which leads to rest, to knowledge, to enlightenment, to Nirvana. "[31]

There is very much in Buddhist literature which leads back to the idea that the root evil is essentially ignorance. The redemption offered by Buddhism is the *doctrine*, as taught by the *Buddha*, and as conformed with in the *order*. It is not so much a change of heart and will, although such is necessarily included as a stage, but of intellectual outlook. Buddhists also developed the doctrine and practice of meditation and concentration leading to a form of mystic trance, as a way out of the delusion of the self. "The actual aim of trance seems to be in Buddhism twofold: to strengthen the mind, to empty the mind." The result is an experience transcending the evils of life. "Attainment in Jnana is a very important psychological moment, marking an epoch in his mental experience for the person who succeeds in commanding it. He has for the first time in his life tasted something unlike anything he has ever experienced before. The feeling is simply indescribable. He feels an entirely changed person, purged from the Hindrances. He is living a new higher life, the life of a god of the heavens called Rupa (or Vision) experiencing the consciousness believed to be habitual there ".[32]

The idea of suffering does not occupy a very prominent place in Jainism.[33] Rather, for it, the evil may be

31. H. Oldenberg, ibid. p. 320.

32. L. de. la Vallee Poussin: *The Way to Nirvana.* Cambridge 1917; Mrs. Rhys Davids: *Buddhist Psychology* 110–119, quoting S. Aung. With regard to meditation and concentration, see especially: *The Manual of a Mystic.* Trs. F. L. Woodward. 1916.

33. "Sufferings" mentioned in Jain books are: nakedness (that is, feeling suffering at being naked), ennui, discontent, woman, sitting or posture, abuse, begging, respect and disrespect, slack belief, hunger, thirst, cold, heat, insect-bites, walking, hard-earth bed, beating, disease, contact with thorny shrubs, etc, dirt. See *Tattvartha-Sutram* x. 9--11.

A Buddhist Cave Temple, Ajanta

said to be imperfection. Re-birth is bad just in that it means continued imperfection, and so bondage of the soul to non-soul. There is here no radical distinction between suffering and sin. Sin can be regarded not in the usual sense of the alienation of the soul and an Other, but only as discord or opposition between one's actual conduct and one's self as ideal. The only sin, in the ultimate sense, is sin against oneself. That is the implication of Jaina teaching, but it is difficult to reconcile it with the Jaina practice of asking forgiveness of others for any wrong one may perchance have done. Further, it requires explanation how such wrong doing can really affect the life of another for better or for worse, if a man's bliss or misery depends on his own activity according to the law of *Karma*, to belief in which the Jains adhere. There is in the particular Jain form of presentation of the doctrine of *Karma*, in relation with the distinction of *jiva* (or the conscious) from *ajiva* (or the unconscious), a tendency to regard evil as associated with the physical and to find redemption in the control of sense, even in eradication of the sensuous experience through rigorous asceticism.[34] " Inordinate taste for worldly things, impure emotions, hankering for and indulging in sensual pleasures, causing anguish to fellow beings, and slandering them openly or covertly, these constitute the springs of evil. " " The different soul-soiling emotions, the tempting senses, suffering and wrath, undesirable thoughts and corruption of the faculties of perception and will, these constitute the springs

34. The influence of Jainism in its relating of evil with the contact of the conscious with the unconscious may possibly be seen in the later movements which have regarded matter as the source of evil. This may be so, for example, with Manicheism. Dr. J. F. Bethune Baker : op. cit. p. 93 says that Mani preached in India. The instigation to his view may first have come from there, from Jain sources.

of evil." Even more: "One who has the ideal of *Moksha* must therefore completely eradicate every kind of desire from his heart." The way of redemption is primarily through right vision, that is, insight, leading to perfect knowledge, thence to perfect conduct, and to reach perfect knowledge there are forms of concentration and meditation.[35] Jainism, nevertheless, like Buddhism, places great emphasis on the moral and has high ethical principles of which the chief is *ahimsa*, not-killing, interpreted broadly to mean the abstention from inflicting injury on any living creature.[36]

For the Hindu of the age of the *Rig Veda* sin was error in conduct or worship which made the god angry with the worshipper and so unwilling to protect or prosper him. The seer asks: "What, Varuna, hath been my chief transgression, that thou shouldst slay the friend who sings thy praises? Tell me, unconquerable lord, and quickly sinless will I approach thee with mine homage." And he prays to Agni:

"Most youthful god, whatever the sin, through folly,
here in the world of men we have committed,
Before great Aditi make thou us sinless: remit entirely,
Agni, our offences.
Even in the presence of great sin, O Agni, free us from
prison of the gods or mortals.
Never may we who are thy friends be injured: grant
health and wealth unto our seed and offspring.

At the Asvamedha, the horse sacrifice, as referred to

35. *Panchastika-Samayasara*: 146–7. ; 176. ; cf. 163 ; 154. See *Dravya-Samgraha* 47. p. 110 Commentary: "By meditation one can have perfect faith, perfect knowledge, and perfect conduct, and can understand the soul also only through meditation."

36. Jainism has a list of "seven vices": *sapta bishan* described as: prostitution, sexual intercourse with a woman not one's own wife, drinking any intoxicant, flesh-eating, gambling, and thieving. See the *Jaina Gazette*; N. S. I. p. 49.

in the *Rig Veda*, we have the following prayer, which looks upon one effect of the sacrifice as the removal of any displeasure of the gods due to offences. "May this good steed bring us all-sustaining riches, wealth in good kine, good horses, manly offspring. Freedom from sin may Aditi vouchsafe us : the steed with our oblations gain us lordship.[37]

Among Western writers on the subject, the impression has been common that Hinduism is essentially pessimistic. This appears radically false. The discontent with the transitory is the counterpart of a deeper faith in a worthier experience of the eternal. Among the principal *Upanishads*, only one, the *Maitreya*, emphasises the negative view with any vividness, but even this is with the background of the idea of redemption in the spiritual. It is from the desires of this world that there is revulsion. "Sir, in this ill-smelling, unsubstantial body, which is a conglomerate of bone, skin, muscle.....what is the good of enjoyment of desires ? In this body, which is afflicted with desire, anger, covetousness, delusion, fear, despondency, envy, separation from the desirable, union with the undesirable, hunger, thirst, senility, death, disease, sorrow and the like, what is the good of desires ? And we see that this whole world is decaying..." From this standpoint it is not strange that the writer feels : "In this cycle of existence I am like a frog in a waterless well ". The *Upanishads* as a whole teach the way of redemption from evil, and they emphasise rather the nature of the redemption than the character of the evil. The evil actually mentioned in the *Upanishads* is sickness, fear, distress, darkness, doubt, sorrow, fetters, passion, ignorance, sin and death. For the *Upanishads*, as for Hinduism in general, *avidya*, ignorance, may be consid-

37. *Rig Veda* vii. 86. 4; iv. 12 4–5; i. 162. 22; see also vii. 86. 7; i. 24; i. 157. 4; ii. 27. 14; v. 85. 7–8; vi. 51. 7; vii. 58. 5; vii. 97. 2.

ered to be the root cause of all evil, whether it is treated as illusory or otherwise. To be sure, all forms of Hinduism insist on suffering as due to the wrong-doing of the present or the past, of this life or a previous one. But the root of this wrong-doing is ultimately the error by which the human soul, the *Atman*, misconceives its nature as finite. All evil is the result of limitation. For the Hindu, especially the Vedantist, there is not so much a distinction between suffering and sin and a differentiated form of salvation corresponding to each, but rather just this: deliverance, paths of deliverance, from bondage to the merely transitory which may be said to be miserable just because it is insufficient to satisfy the demands of a soul that is in essence infinite. To the request "Sir, I have heard from men like you that he who knows the Self, overcomes grief. I am in grief, do, Sir, help me over this grief of mine."—this is the answer: "We must endeavour to understand what bliss is. The infinite is bliss. The infinite is the I, the Self. The Self is above, behind, before, right and left. The Self is all this. He who sees this, does not see death, nor illness, nor pain; he who sees this sees everything and obtains everything everywhere." "Therefore, having this knowledge, having become calm, subdued, quiet, patiently enduring and collected, one sees the Soul in the soul, One sees everything as the Soul. Evil does not overcome him, he overcomes all evil. Evil does not burn him; he burns all evil. Free from evil, free from impurity, free from doubt, he becomes a Brahman."[38]

Hinduism thus looks for escape from rebirth, because birth denotes a continuance of the condition of finitude. It is in this form of escape from rebirth that the idea of

38. *Maitri Upanishad* i. 3.; i. 4; *Chand.* i. 3. 1; iii. 16, 4; vii. 26. 2; viii. 4, 3; *Svet.* i. 11; *Kath.* i. 3; *Tait.* ii. 8; *Mund.* ii. 2. 8; iii. 2. 9; *Brih.* i. v. 4. 23.

redemption and salvation is most frequently present in popular Hinduism. For the more philosophical redemption is essentially conceived as release from the delusory "self." When this release is attained there is an equanimity of mind, a state of rest and peace, which is characteristic of the divine. There are three ways by which this condition may be approached and attained, which may be briefly denominated : *karmamarga*, the way of action; *bhaktimarga*, the way of devotion; *jnanamarga*, the way of knowledge and contemplative insight. There is a narrower and a wider manner of interpreting each of these, though it may surely be assumed that the wider is that which will be maintained by the thinking Hindu. Thus, *karmamarga* may be interpreted in a narrow fashion to mean the performance of religious rites and at most in addition the duties of the caste in which one finds oneself. The wider interpretation maintains rather that in any keen activity, sufferings, anxieties, self, are forgotten, rather transcended. True action which leads to redemption is free of all thought of the individual self : in other words, it is unattached. There is no thought that the action is for the benefit of any self. Again, *bhaktimarga* may be interpreted as emotional worship of one or more of the personal incarnations of the deity, as for example, Krishna, Rama, or the Mother goddess. Or it may be taken to mean the attitude of emotional love and kindliness directed to all, as the mode or principle of conduct. The feelings being so set on the object of devotion, thought of self is no longer present. In the feeling of unity with the beyond which is experienced as within, redemption from finitude, transcendence of suffering is achieved. If one may judge by appearances it is the way of devotion which appeals most to the majority of Hindu minds. But Indian thinkers would have us believe that the highest stage is achieved only through *jnanamarga*. This

again is capable of interpretation as knowledge of the sacred scriptures, or as an immediate knowledge of God attained through meditation and as it were intuition. This knowledge, *anubhava*, is a kind of ultimate spiritual vision, in and for which the *atman* no longer appears as finite but as one with the Infinite. Of these three paths the Hindu may and most often does use all as far as in him lies.[39] Those who have given themselves up to a " religious " life especially as ascetics, also practice certain forms of control and meditation by which they reach a state of *samadhi* or mystic trance. The genuine *yogi* is probably the exception rather than the rule: nevertheless some of the practices such as regulation of the breath and fixing the attention are aids widely used in the preparation for a contemplation leading to calm and equanimity of mind. [40]

But in the utterances of the saints there is evidence of a profound sense of man's inability, unaided, to obtain salvation and redemption: not by knowledge, nor by

39. It is in relation to the ways of redemption that the *Bhagavadgita* owes much of its influence and the whole should be studied. It has been very variously interpreted, some maintaining that knowledge, others devotion, and still others, action, is the fundamental teaching. Taking up the question from the point of view of modern life and thought Lingesha Mahabhagavat, a modern *Sannyasi* has interpreted it to include all ways to be used in appropriate conditions. *The Heart of the Bhagavadgita*. Baroda 1918. As a rule Shaivites emphasise the side of *Jnana*; the Vaishnavites of *Bhakti*. Within recent times B. G. Tilak in his Marathi *Gita-Rahashya* contended that the *Karma-marga* predominates.

40. See J. H. Woods: *The Yoga System of Patanjali*. Cambridge U. S. A. 1914; and S. Dasgupta: *The Study of Patanjali*. Calcutta 1920. Some Indians seem to maintain that *Yoga* is the essential and universal spirit of all Hinduism. In the sense that *Yoga* means equanimity of mind this could and need not be denied. But in the sense of mystic trance and *Samadhi* dependent in large measure on certain practices leading to a type of self-hypnotism, the contention may reasonably be disputed.

works, nor by devotion, but only by the grace of God can peace be attained. So Tukaram pleads :

Ah, then, O God, the efforts all are vain
By which I've sought thy blessed feet to gain.
First there was loving faith, but faith I've none;
Nowise my restless soul can I restrain.

Then pious deeds, but no good will have I
For these; nor wealth to help the poor thereby;
I know not how to honour Brahman guests;
Alas! the springs of love in me are dry.

I cannot serve the guru or the saint;
Not mine to chant the name, with toil to faint,
Perform the sacred rites, renounce the world,
I cannot hold my senses in restraint.

My heart has never trod the pilgrims way;
The vows I make I know not how to pay.
"Ah, God is here," I cry. Not so, not so.
For me distinctions have not passed away.

Therefore I come, O God, to plead for grace,
I, worthy only of a servant's place.
No store of merit such an one requires.
My firm resolve is taken, Tuka says [41]

Similarly, Namdev sought in the scriptures and in the practices of devotional worship to obtain redemption and happiness, but without result. Finally, he calls simply for divine salvation :

Weary with seeking, here at last am I,
Low at thy feet, O Pandurang I lie.
My worldly life is full of fears, but thou
(Tis Nama cries) O save me, save me now.[42]

41. N. Macnicol : *Psalms of Maratha Saints*. Calcutta pp. 68–9.
42. ibid. p. 46.

And some of the most impressive and laudable aspects of goddess worship consist in similar appeals to divine compassion and mercy, attributes which throughout all mankind have been associated with the idea of mother.

O Durga, our Lady! O ocean of mercy!
When overwhelmed by danger I remember Thee.
Think not, however, this to be deceit on my part,
For children afflicted by hunger and thirst ever
remember their mother.

O Mother of the world!
It is nothing wonderful if thou art full of
compassion for me;
A mother does not abandon her son
Even if he have a hundred faults.

There is no such great sinner as I,
There is no such destroyer of sin as Thou;
Now, Mahadevi, you have heard what I have to say,
It remains for thee to do what may seem fitting
to Thee.

* * * *

Devi, Thou who removeth the pain of thy suppliants,
Be gracious. Be gracious, O Mother of the world!
Be gracious, O Queen of the universe!
Protect the universe.
Thou art, O Devi! the Ishvari of all moving and
unmoving things [43]

All forms of evil are regarded by Zoroastrianism as due to the actions of spiritual beings, but predominantly of the chief evil spirit, Ahriman. Evil is increased or diminished according to the extent to which men think, speak, and act in sympathy with or opposition to Ahriman. Death and disease are alike the effect of Ahriman and his

43. A. Avalon; *Hymns to the Goddess.* 1913 pp. 98;

followers. " And when these twain Spirits came together in the beginning, they established life and not-life. "[44] Death being essentially a product of evil, contact with dead matter leads to impurity, and to eradicate this forms of ritual purification are to be resorted to. Noxious creatures and poisonous plants are part of the evil creation and it is a good work to destroy them. " Hail and hurricane, cyclone and thunderstorm, plague and pestilence, famine and drought, in fact everything that harms man and decimates population, belongs to the realm of evil. Angra Mainyu (Ahriman) has cast an evil eye upon the good creation and by his glance of malice introduced corruption and disease into the universe."[45] The darkness appears to be a distinct evil " When this world is in darkness everything upon it is stinking, filthy, and of sinful movement. "[46]

In the Pahlavi texts the personification of evil is paramount. " Various new demons arise from the various new sins the creatures may commit. "[47] Sins are arranged in order of heinousness and the punishment guaged accordingly. In principle sin is disloyalty and disobedience to God : it is adoring the evil one instead of God. Practically sins are distinguished as to whether they injure others besides oneself or simply oneself alone. " Sins that

44. *Yasna* xxx. 4.

45. Dhalla: op. cit. p. 155 with a reference to *Vend.* 22. 2,9, 15.

46. *Dinkard*: ed. Sanjana. iv. 199. Cf. *Yt.* vi. 3. " Should not the sun rise up, then the Daevas would destroy all the things that are in the seven Karshvares, nor would the heavenly Yazatas find any way of withstanding or repelling them in the material world. "

47. *Bundahis* xxviii p. 43. Even in the later *Acesta* there are demons; as chief being. Aka Manah, the demon of evil mind; Druj as the personification of bodily impurity, and other drujes open and secret; Taurvi and Zairicha, demons of hunger and thirst; Astovidhotu, the fiend of death; Bushyansta, the personification of idleness; Aeshma, the demon of wrath; Apaosha, the demon of drought; and Azi, the demon who tries to extinguish the household fire and encourages avarice.

are productive of much suffering involve antagonism to God, the angels, to other good beings, and are a source of encouragement to bad spirits." Suffering comes to the sinner as punishment: "The body of this world is punished because of the sins of the invisible soul." The *Gathas* emphasise especially the punishment of sin in the hereafter. In the later texts suffering is seen to have its disciplinary side to draw men from sin to righteousness. "That sinners are (obliged) to bear, although unwillingly, the punishment for their sins is because, notwithstanding they have the power for the removal of sinful deeds, to do deeds of righteousness, and to make such deeds grow, they do not do so and do not bear in mind the reward of goodness and the thankfulness for it. Damage to the invisible abode is due to man's own desires."[48]

The way of redemption from evil is that of conflict, of good thought against evil thought, good words against evil words, and good deeds against evil deeds. The predominant tone of the religion is distinctly ethical. "To live in fear and falsehood is worse than death." There is no suggestion in Zoroastrian writings that the human soul ever becomes incapable of fighting against evil. Men are exhorted to change from following evil to follow good. Help is prayed for from Ahura Mazda, the archangels and angels, and also the Fravashis. "It is mostly owing to the increased success of the Ijads, and the better government (of the soul) and the knowledge regarding the good religion, improvements in religion, and the relations with God, that man obtains a life such as he wishes and salvation." The first step to overcoming sin and suffering is instruction in the religion, after that men should seek expiation of their sins in penance and with forgiveness.

48. *Nirangastan*. trs. S. J. Bulsara, Bombay 1915. II iii, 10n. *Dinkard*. ed. Sanjana, IV. p. 197; IX, p. 628; IV. p. 192 p. 265

Religion is the medicine of the soul. " For the removal of the sufferings of the souls of men it is proper that they should be instructed (in religion) and while prevented from evil-thinking, evil-speaking, become good-speaking and good-doing; that thereby wise, religious people might, through a knowledge of the good religion, be the more enabled to improve their disposition. " Renunciation of sin involves a change of attitude of will, and there may be renunciation before the high priest. " For the existence of renunciation of sin the special thing is this, that one commits no sin voluntarily ; and if, through folly, or weakness and ignorance, a sin occurs, he is then in renunciation of sin before the high-priests and the good. And after that, when he does not commit (it again) then that sin which is committed by him becomes thus a sweeping from his body ; just as the wind which is hasty and mighty when it comes swift and strong, sweeps so over the plain that it carries away every single blade of grass, and anything that is broken in that place. " "The first requirement for the expiation of sins and for becoming pure through the expurgation of them, is to implore forgiveness, to express contrition, and to repent—in the presence of the Lord. As the sins are many in number, so likewise their atonements are various. " By atonement two things seem to be meant : sometimes punishment, sometimes good deeds counteracting the evil. Although in a few passages it is said that some sins, as e. g. sodomy and burying the dead, are unatonable, in others it is stated that all are atonable through true religion. Although Zoroastrianism throughout has insisted on the conflict of good and evil, it has never tended to identify this distinction with that of matter and spirit. It definitely opposes forms of ascetic repression of the physical. It was through Zoroastrian opposition and under a Zoroastrian king that Mani was

executed for his heretical doctrine of matter as evil.[49]

The problems of sin and suffering have played a distinct part in the religion of the Jews. At first, as with most other peoples, wrong-doing was that which caused divine displeasure, shown through some calamity which occurred, as e. g. defeat in battle. In the Mosaic code the breaking of ritual customs is as serious an evil as moral offences. But there grew up amongst the Jews, with a uniqueness and intensity as with no other ancient people, a consciousness of sin as an impurity of the soul which causes the greatest suffering in the sense of alienation from God. Sin contaminates man; it desecrates the divine image within him, and separates him from God. "But your iniquities have separated between you and your God, and your sins have hid his face from you, that he will not hear."[50] The concept of sin came to include i. the violations of the ritual code; ii. divergence from social morality; and iii. any attitude of mind towards God showing lack of faith or trust, docility, humility, penitence for sin, or love. In the *Psalms* there is a "true spiritual conception of sin as an impurity of soul which makes a barrier between it and God."[51] The fifty-first Psalm is one of the most poignant expressions of the consciousness of sin in literature.

"Have mercy upon me, O God, after thy great goodness: according to the multitude of thy mercies do away mine offences.

Wash me throughly from my wickedness: and cleanse me from my sin.

---

49. *Dina i Mainog i Khirad.* xix. 8; *Dinkard.* ed. Sanjana II p. 67.; p. 222; *Dina i Mainog i Khirad* lii. 16-19; *Dinkard* IX. p. 680 680-1; VIII 6. 15-16; *Vendidad* I. 12,13; *Dinkard* XVI p. 23; III p. 41.

50. Isaiah lix. 2.

51. C. H. Toy; *Judaism and Christianity*, p. 187.

For I acknowledge my transgressions: and my sin ever before me.

Against thee only have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight : that thou mightest be justified in thy saying, and clear when thou art judged.

Behold, I was shapen in wickedness : and in sin hath my mother conceived me.

But lo, thou requirest truth in the inward parts : and shalt make me to understand wisdom secretly.

Thou shalt purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean : thou shalt wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.

Thou shalt make me hear of joy and gladness : that the bones which thou hast broken may rejoice.

Turn thy face from my sins : and put out all my misdeeds.

Make me a clean heart, O God : and renew a right spirit within me.

Cast me not away from thy presence : and take not thy holy Spirit from me.

O give me the comfort of thy help again : and stablish me with thy free Spirit.

Then shall I teach thy ways unto the wicked : and sinners shall be converted unto thee.

Deliver me from blood-guiltiness, O God, thou that art the God of my health : and my tongue shall sing of thy righteousness.

Thou shalt open my lips, O Lord : and my mouth shall shew thy praise.

For thou desirest no sacrifice, else would I give it thee : but thou delightest not in burnt offerings.

The sacrifice of God is a troubled spirit : a broken and contrite heart, O God, shalt thou not despise."

The religion of the Jews is inseparable from the conviction which pervades their whole history that God is

in close and continuous personal relation with them. It is this which gives to sin its chief character of that which in some way breaks this happy relationship. But it is also the ground for the basis of overcoming sin: repentance and forgiveness. The Jews saw in suffering a way in which divine righteousness was manifested and a means by which men were brought back to moral relations with God. In the lamentations of Job we have a presentation of the uncertainties and the hesitation in the minds of the Jews concerning the question of the cause and purpose of suffering and its relation to sin and to God. Job, happy with a good conscience, with wife and children and wealth, is suddenly overcome with calamity after calamity, loss of wealth, of children and wife, and is reduced to a condition of painful disease. He finds it impossible to look upon these sufferings as all due to his sins.[52] In a few passages it is suggested that the sufferings were sent by God as a means of moral education, a necessary factor in the formation of character. The exposition in the book of Job is indecisive, but the retributive notion of suffering as due to sin appears to predominate. Yet, whatever the explanation the only justifiable attitude for man is represented as faith in and submission to God. In the later collection, the Talmud, there is a saying: "Him whom God loves he crushes with suffering."[53] Few nations have passed through so many painful experiences as the Jews. The Jew came

52. C. G. Montefiore: *Hibbert Lectures*. p. 445 shows how a doctrine of accurate correspondence between sin and suffering was gradually modified by four other conceptions: i. the predominance of the divine mercy over the measure for measure rule; ii. the growth of the idea that suffering is educational and disciplinary; iii. the discovery that there is spiritual satisfaction in communion with God and the performance of the law, and that this is an end in itself parallel with and superior to material prosperity; iv. introduction of the belief in a resurrection and a future life.

53. Quoted by C. G. Montefiore. op. cit. p. 451.

to see in suffering not merely a punishment for sin, but also a means of divine preparation of his race for its mission in the world. The feeling of the solidarity of the race led the Jews to a more social conception of suffering : all might suffer through the sins of one or the few. But similarly, all might benefit by the good offices of one or of the few. Eventually suffering as the path by which higher levels of spiritual life were reached took upon itself a sacramental character, as in the teaching concerning the suffering servant of Israel.[54]

For the ancient Hebrews salvation always meant deliverance by God. In the earliest times and long after he was represented as " the lord of hosts " who would deliver his people in battle. " Jehovah your God is he that goeth with you to fight for you against your enemies, to save you. " Later, the saviour from captivity, he restores the kingdom to Israel. The nationalistic conceptions of this deliverance by God continued up to and after the return from Exile. But with this event, salvation began to assume a more ethical and in some ways also a more individual character. The Hebrew prophets taught that God strove continually to save them from the worst of all sins, idolatry, involving disloyalty to himself. " A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit I will put

54. The idea of the " suffering servant of Israel " is, as Dr. Ottley describes it " a great conception ". But while it has been referred to throughout the centuries as suggestive of Jesus by Christians, it has probably not exercised so much influence on Jewish thought. For the latter it is rather a personification of the faithful remnant of the nation. See R. L. Ottley, *The Religion of Israel*. 1905. pp. 124ff. Isaiah liii is a wonderful description of a suffering redeemer. See verses 3, 4, "He is despised and rejected of men; a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief : and we hid as it were our faces from him; he was despised and we esteemed him not. Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows: yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted, "

within you : and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you a heart of flesh. And I will put my spirit within you and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments and do them, and I will save you from all your uncleanness. " Thus the individual is exhorted : " Wait on the Lord and he shall save thee. " The whole of the " second " Isaiah is pervaded with the idea that God is the saviour and redeemer. At the same time there was a beginning of the transcendence of mere nationality. Israel is not merely to receive salvation itself but is to be the means by which all the nations of the world shall be blessed. " I will also give thee for a light to the Gentiles that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth. " In *Proverbs* and in the Book of *Job* a more individual appreciation of the problem of suffering and sin arises. In the *Psalms* and in *Ezekiel* also this aspect is present. Salvation from sin both for the nation and for the individual is by repentance and divine forgiveness. "Rend your hearts and not your garments, and turn unto the Lord your God. " " Let the wicked forsake his way and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy; and to our God for he will abundantly pardon." The doctrine of the return of the wayward sinner to God is described by Dr. Kohler as the brightest gem among the teachings of Judaism. And referring to sincere repentance he quotes the Talmud: " It reaches up to the very seat of God. " "Upon it rests the welfare of the world "[55]

55. Deut; xx. 4 ; Ezekiel xxxvi, 26-27 : Proverbs xx. 22 ; Isaiah xl-lxvi ; Joel ii. 12 : Isaiah lv. 7 ; Kohler. op. cit. ch xxxix. and p. 252; cf. Micah vii. 18 ; Isaiah xliiii. 25; Ezekiel xxxiii. 11; I. Abrahams : *Judaism* 1910. pp. 44-48. writes thus : " Man's repentance was correlated with the sorrow of God. God as well as man repented : the former of punishment ; the latter of sin ". " Judaism took over from it past the anthropomorphic belief that God can be moved

The Crucifixion of Jesus

Christianity arose out of Judaism first with the call to repentance, as preached by John the Baptist, but it was able to become established as an independent religion in relation with Jesus who taught a solely spiritual conception of sin and represented God as always in the attitude of a loving Father towards men and so of forgiveness, thus as it were taking the initiative leading men to repentance. " Sin is lawlessness. " But its real source is the heart and the will. Not that which goeth into a man, defileth a man but that which " proceedeth out of the man. For from within, out of the heart of men evil thoughts proceed..." Thus says Jesus : " I say unto you that everyone that looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart. "[56] In his parables Jesus has also represented sin as a self-willed

by man's prayers, contrition, amendment. " " Judaism as a theology stood or fell by its belief that man can affect God. "

56. 1. John iii. 4 ; Mark vii. 21-23 ; Matthew v. 28. Christian theologians, to some extent following the course of thought of the ordinary moral consciousness, have distinguished between kinds and degrees of sins. They are usually classed as i. venial, or ii. mortal. The Seven Deadly Sins are : pride, covetousness, lust, anger, gluttony, envy, sloth. But there is, further, what has been termed " eternal sin ", after certain references in the synoptic Gospels. See Matthew xii. 31 2 ; Luke xii. 10; and Mark iii. 28-9:- " Verily I say unto you, all their sins shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, and their blasphemies wherewith soever they shall blaspheme: but whosoever shall blaspheme against the Holy Spirit hath never forgiveness, but is guilty of an eternal sin : because they said, He hath an unclean spirit. " This expression has been variously interpreted, but its essential implication may be taken to be that given in the widely used Catholic devotional manual : *The Garden of the Soul.* p. xiv. " Presumption of God's mercy, despair, impugning the known truth, envy at another's spiritual good, obstinacy in sin, final impenitence "-in short, it is a persistent and deliberate wrong attitude of the will. See H. V. S. Eck : *Sin.* 1908. pp. 105-116 and on the whole subject from a modern point of view, F. R. Tennant : *Concept of Sin ;* and W. E. Orchard : *Modern Theories of Sin.* 1910.

rupture of a personal relationship between men and God. In his setting of the ideal ; " Be perfect, even as your Father in Heaven is perfect", and in his manifestation of its principle, he has brought men to the consciousness of their guilt, a necessary preliminary to repentance. But, further, he has led them to the assurance of divine forgiveness. " If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and righteous to forgive us our sins and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness. " Forgiveness is not necessarily the remission of the punishment but the removal of the consciousness of alienation from God felt by the sinner aware of the nature of his guilt.[57]

Further, in his teaching and in his suffering Jesus revealed more clearly than ever before something of the position of suffering in Reality. In this lies one of the most fundamental differences between Christianity and most other religions. In Christianity suffering is not regarded as a purely individualistic matter as due to the sufferer's own sin in each and every instance. The crucifixion of Jesus, one of the central facts of Christianity, negates according to the Christian view, once for all the belief that suffering is always co–ordinate with an individual's own sin.[58] Not only may the members of the social whole suffer through the sins of some of their number, but suffering is recognised as in some instances not known to be associated with any sin. In this another fact is brought into relief, that suf-

57. Matthew v. 48 , 1. John i. 3–9. cf. E. H. Askwith's essay on " Sin, and the Need of Atonement " in *Cambridge Theological Essays*. 1905.

58. J. R. Illingworth : " The Problem of Pain " in *Lux Mundi*: ed. 1913. p. 90: We suffer because we sin and we sin because we decline to suffer." In the synopsis of the essay, p. xxxiii the view is conveniently summarised. Christianity sees in pain and suffering: (a) The antidote to sin; (b) The means of individual and social progress; (c) The source of sympathy with man; (d) The secret of union with God,

fering is a means by which men are brought into more intimate relationship with one another and with God. Christianity does not regard suffering as the primary evil. Sin is the fundamental evil. Sin is not considered to be evil because it leads on to suffering, but on its own account. This argues a different attitude to sin from that found, for example, in Buddhism, and this difference of attitude also affects the attitude towards suffering. Suffering sometimes being a means by which good is achieved, the chief task is not that of the eradication of suffering. Redemption from suffering is to be sought according to its origin. The way to overcome suffering due to sin is obviously, at least in part, by the cessation of the sin. Nevertheless the suffering that sin has caused may remain, and further there is suffering which does not seem to be due to sin at all. The remedy offered by Christianity is the same in both instances. It is fundamentally faith and trust in God, that in and through this suffering the good is nevertheless being achieved. The ultimate attitude of Christianity in face of suffering is that of Jesus: " Have faith in God " Christianity also insists that if the attitude is right suffering leads to an increase in love, and that in the experience of this love, the suffering is transcended.

The initial cause of suffering has sometimes been considered to be due to sin committed at the outset of the history of man. The best known example of this idea is the belief in "original" sin, held by many Christians, according to which the sin of Adam and Eve has affected all human life for ill, introducing an element of sinfulness or corruption into human nature itself, passing on through birth from one generation to the next. Human toil and suffering are depicted as the signs and consequences of their original transgression. The doctrine became emphasised in Christianity owing chiefly to the manner in which under the influence of Paul, Jesus was represented as a second Adam come to save men from

the effects of this original sin. The idea of a corruption of human nature from Adam is not taught by the Hebrew Scriptures, only that sin is universal amongst the offspring of Adam. " Surely there is not a righteous man upon earth that doeth good and sinneth not. " Although the idea of original sin and of a historic fall never became a dogma of the synagogue, there is in the Apocryphal Book, II *Esdras*, a suggestion of an inherited tendency to sin. Moret is of opinion that the ancient Egyptians believed that mankind bears the weight of an original sin against the gods and that life is the expiation.[59]

The attitude of the *Quran* as to suffering is not precise : the problem of suffering is never definitely considered in any detail. It appears at one time as though it is fore-ordained. " No evil befalls on the earth nor in your own souls but it is in a book before We bring it into existence ; surely that is easy to Allah. " Nevertheless, in spite of this pre-destination, it is stated to be due to the conduct of individuals themselves. " And whatever affliction befalls you it is on account of what your hands have wrought..." Again it is represented as though a means of discipline, a factor by which to lead men to submission to

59. The doctrine of the fall of the first human beings from a state of innocence and thus of an original sin, thenceforth contaminating all human nature is considered by many orthodox Christians as an essential dogma of Christianity without which the work of Jesus is not to be understood. The whole subject has been treated with penetration and insight into the significance of the doctrine from the point of view of modern science and philosophy by Dr. F. R. Tennant : *The Origin and Propagation of Sin.* 1902 and *The Fall and Original Sin.* 1903. Dr. Tennant finds little, if anything, in Egyptian sources analogous to the Hebrew story of the fall. A. Moret, however, has pointed out a very interesting scene on the tomb of Rameses VI (1200 B. C.) and on a Saite coffin in the Louvre : "A virile personage is standing before a serpent, with two legs and two arms, who offers him a red fruit, or at least a little round thing painted red." *At the Time of the Pharoahs*, p. 246-7.

God. " We seized them with distress and affliction in order that they might humble themselves. But why did they not, when Our punishment came to them, humble themselves ? But their hearts hardened and the devil made what they did fair-seeming to them." Notwithstanding the suggestion that suffering is a punishment for sin, the punishment does not extend to the fullness of man's iniquity. For " if Allah had destroyed men for their iniquity he would not leave on the earth a single creature. " On the one hand it cannot be said that in the *Quran* suffering corresponds exactly with sin, or on the other that any explanation is given of the suffering that seems to be independent of sin. The idea of rewards and punishments is a very prominent principle in the *Quran*. " And we have made every man's actions to cling to his neck."[60]

According to the *Quran*, sin appears to have originated in the angel Iblis : "When the Lord said unto the angels : I am about to make man of clay; and when I have formed him and breathed my spirit into him, then reverencing fall down before him. And the angels prostrated themselves, all of them with one accord, save Iblis. He swelled with pride, and became an unbeliever. O Iblis, said God, what hindereth thee from prostrating thyself before him whom my hands have made ? Art thou elated with vain pride ? Or art thou one of exalted merit ? He answered : I am more excellent than he; thou hast created me of fire, and thou hast created him of clay. " The essential character of sin is thus pride and disloyalty to God: " pride carries him off to sin. " The significance of the idea is essentially the Semitic one of " missing the mark "; it is a " going astray ". The rejection of the truth, the message of the Prophet, unbelief, and with this disobedience, and so a falling short of duty to God are especially emphasised.

60. Quran lvii. 22 ; xlii. 30 ; vi. 42 ; xvi. 61 ; xvii. 15.

But sin is also the service of Iblis, who first led men to disobedience. " But the devil made an evil suggestion to him : he said : O Adam ! shall I guide you to the tree of immortality and a kingdom which decays not ? Then they both ate of it, so their evil inclination became manifest to them, and they both began to cover themselves with leaves of the garden, and Adam disobeyed his Lord so his life became evil to him ". The most grievous sin is *shirk*, associating others with God,that is, disloyalty to him. The root in and the inner consequence of sin to the sinner are, however, also recognised, though but rarely and almost insignificantly compared with the repeated references to the reward of heaven and the punishment of hell. Men act " extravagantly against their own souls ". " O men ! your rebellion is against your own souls..." " And whoever commits a sin, he only commits it against his own soul ".[61]

The punishment for sin may be escaped by means of repentance and forgiveness by God. Men are to ask God for forgiveness. " Hasten to ask forgiveness from your Lord ". It is, however, interesting to note that death-bed repentance is not acceptable. " And repentance is not for those who go on doing evil deeds, until when death comes to one of them, he says : Surely now I repent ; nor for those who die while they are unbelievers. " The sin of *shirk* is unpardonable : " Surely Allah does not forgive that anything should be associated with him, and he forgives what is besides this to whom he pleases. " Prayer not only in theory but in actual practice forms a large part of Islam, and " surely prayer keeps (one) away from indecency and evil. "[62]

61. Quran. vii. 11–13 ; ii. 206 ; ii. 34 ; i. 7 ; lii. ; lxxvii. ; ii. 61; 93 ; 39; xxxiv. 56; xxxvi 60 ; xx. 120–1 ; xxxix. 53 ; iv. 111.

62. Quran iii. 132 ; iv. 106 ; 146 ; 18 ; 116 ; xxix. 45.

The religion of the Sikhs follows closely the thought of Hinduism in looking upon the suffering of the round of births and deaths as the main evil from which men seek redemption. There is a constant reference to the fear of transmigration, to the dangerous delusion of this life, and the need of salvation from it. But it is recognised also: "I have suffered the consequences of my acts: I may blame no one else." The world is a terrible ocean, and we have no boat or raft: salvation can come from God alone. Yet on the other hand the evil is expressed also as alienation from God. As fostering such alienation and as bringing loss of happiness all kinds of sins are condemned, and the teaching of the Gurus is replete with repeated ethical precepts of the highest order. Sin is distinctly an attitude of the mind which keeps man from devotion to God. At its root is pride. Thus the Guru urges: "Meditate on God's name: sins of births shall be washed away and pride vanish from thy heart." There is here also an expression of a consciousness of guilt and of personal humility and unworthiness in face of God which can be paralleled only in the utterances of Christian saints. So it is asked: "How can a wall of mud become clean?" And again: "O Guru, be merciful to us sinners; saith the slave Nanak, we are thy dogs." The gate of salvation is very narrow and only the lowly can pass through. While to obtain salvation, the living of a moral life and devotion to God are alike necessary, salvation is regarded rather as a divine gift, a matter of grace. Compared with Hinduism the position is most similar to that of the Vaishnavite Bhakti saints "I suffer from separation from God's name and from God." God is the destroyer of fear and the remover of sorrow, and rebirth and deliverance depend on his will. Men are to learn from the instructions of the Gurus and progress by association with the saints,

By the perfect instruction of the saints,
Man becometh cool in the midst of heat;
Sorrow is put to flight, happiness resulteth,
The fear of birth and death is removed,
Fear ceaseth, man abideth fearless,
And all troubles vanish from his mind.
God showeth mercy to his own.
Who in the company of the saints repeat His Name.
By listening, O Nanak, to God's praises with attention
Mental stableness is obtained, and superstition and
transmigration cease."

"By association with saints I have been saved. By association with saints all maladies are healed."[63]

Many ancient religions contain the conception of "the dying god" with which the welfare of man is somehow associated. The idea may have risen in relation with Nature-worship. The sun, at its height at midday gradually descending dies, as it were, and is buried below the horizon to rise the next day in triumph over darkness and death bringing its joyous gifts once more to men. Vegetation, in autumn dying and in winter dead, rises again in spring to newness of life and to beneficent productivity in summer. The conflicts of Nature-powers aroused ideas and feelings of trouble and triumph. Yet the conflict seemed waged with the powers of darkness and death for the welfare of men, for they profited by the return of the light and the spring. Dr. Gilbert Murray tells us of a dying "Vegetation" Spirit in Greece, "in the first stage living, then dying with each year, rising again from the dead, raising the whole dead with him. The Greeks call him in this phase the third one or the Saviour. The renovation ceremonies were accompanied by a casting

63. Macauliffe: *The Sikh Religion.* I. p. 89; II. 216; I. p. 6; p. 209; III p. 137; p. 129; p. 205; II. p. 296; p. 297; III. 188; p. 253; pp. 218-20. Cf. II. p. 250; p. 215; p. 325; V. p. 298; p. 294; III. p. 240-1;

off of the old year, the old garments, and everything that is polluted by the infection of death. And not only death, but clearly I think, in spite of the protests of some Hellenists, of guilt or sin also." In Greek mythology, Heracles, the son of Zeus and a human mother has the character of a redeemer in his overcoming of Cerberus and in his relief of Prometheus, who represents the spirit of man. In philosophical circles in Greece after Plato the real Saviour is conceived as he who in some sense saves the souls of men by revealing to them the *gnosis theou*, a knowledge which is rather "a merging of beings." "This actual present priest, who initiates you or me is himself already an image of God but above him there are greater and wiser priests, above them others, and above them all there is one eternal divine mediator, who being in perfection both man and God, can alone fully reveal God to man, lead man's soul up the heavenly path beyond change and fate and the Houses of the Seven Rulers to its ultimate peace."[64]

An interesting set of myths seem to refer to an early association of evil with a "primeval watery element" or with a great monster of the raging ocean and his horde, and to a conflict with this by a saviour who eventually becomes regarded as a "bringer of blessings." With these myths is associated another of a golden age in the past, the like of which is in the future to be re-established when the monster is not only conquered but also, as is not yet, destroyed. It may be said that the ideas in this form probably arose amongst the ancient peoples of Babylonia. Traces remain also in ancient Hebrew sources. There are, however, analogous myths in most parts of the world. The following summary is from the work of Dr. Oesterley, who has systematically discussed the subject in relation with the Messianic idea among the Jews. "*Tehom*, the primeval

64. G. Murray: *Four Stages of Greek Religion*. pp. 47; 141-2.

watery monster, is the enemy of the gods and men;... *Tehom* comes to be known under a variety of names, viz. the Serpent, the Dragon, Leviathan, and Rahab, and moreover *Tehom* is identified with the Sea..... In the great primeval conflict between *Tehom* and the champion of the gods, the former is indeed overcome but not finally annihilated.....In all probability, two other Old Testament stories are to be regarded as 'extensions' of the *Tehom* myth: thus in the Story of the Fall, the Serpent, who is identified with *Tehom* appears as the embodiment of the principle of evil; and in the story of the Flood, *Tehom Rabbah* once more appears as the enemy of God. In the *Jahwe* myth.....the earlier conceptions concerning a semi-divine hero who overcame the Dragon and brought blessings to his people are *transferred* to Jahwe...The underlying idea (of the *Paradise* myth) is that long ago gods and men lived happily together, there was sufficiency of food, there was ease and comfort, and universal peace reigned—the very animals were all at peace with one another. A divine personality, who had, however, some human characteristics, ruled over men in justice and equity. There was a specified locality which was the scene of this happy era, the return of which at some future time was looked for. "[65]

Of the attitude of early Buddhism, Oldenberg's statement must be accepted as correct: "The only help which can be imparted to the struggler comes from those like himself, from those who have gone before, the Buddhas and their enlightened disciples, who have wrestled as he now wrestles, and who cannot, it is true, grant him the victory, but can show him the path to victory." Thus in his final exhortations and his last talk with Ananda, the Buddha

65. W. O. E. Oesterley: *The Evolution of the Messianic Idea.* 1908. This is an important study of the subject of these myths and of their relation to the Messianic idea, but doubt may be expressed as to some of the author's positions.

says: "Therefore, O Ananda, be ye lamps unto yourselves. Be ye a refuge unto yourselves. Betake yourself to no external refuge. Hold fast to the truth as to a lamp. Hold fast as a refuge to the truth. Look not for refuge to any but yourselves."[66]

Nevertheless the idea of saviours has established itself in Buddhism, especially in the belief in the Bodhisattvas of the Mahayana. It has also been introduced into the accounts of the Buddha himself. Even in the earlier traditions there is a story of the attempts of the evil one, Mara, to prevent the Buddha after he had attained Buddhahood, from living to preach the Doctrine and establishing the Order. And thus Buddha is supposed to have answered: "I shall not enter Nirvana, thou wicked one, until the life of holiness which I point out, has been successful, grown in favour, and extended among all mankind, and is in vogue and thoroughly made known to all men." The Holy One said to himself, "Truly the world is lost, truly the world is undone, if the heart of the perfect one, the holy highest Buddha, be bent in abiding quietude and not preaching the doctrine." Later developments lead to the idea that the advent of the Buddha on earth is that of a definite *avatar* come to bring the saving truth to men. Even before his birth the gods plead with him to appear amongst men. Mahayana Buddhism, in its popular forms, professes faith in the continual activity of the Buddha and of former Buddhas, even now, for the welfare of others. "The great Sutra of Brahma's Net makes it a law for all seekers of salvation to secure and further each other's welfare and holiness by pious wishes. Good wishes, on the supposition that they are made with fervent honesty, have efficacy. They are uttered at almost every ceremony and at every act of the brethren of the monastery and give a

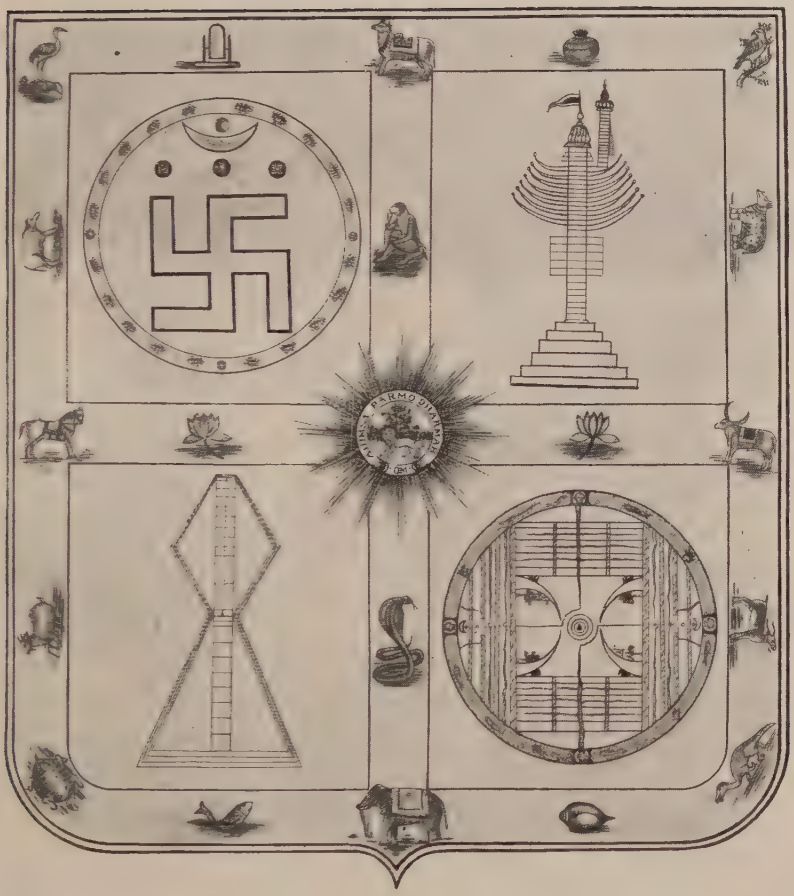
66. Oldenberg H. *Buddha* 1904. p. 351–2.; *Maha-Parinibbana Sutta*, II. 23. cf. *Dhammapada* 165.

special impress of devoutness to their life. The common daily early worship in the monastery consisting principally in the recitation of a sutra devoted to the Buddha of the East, Amitabha's counterpart, concludes with a comprehensive wish for the welfare of all creatures. Side by side with such wishes, the brethren continually utter oath to the effect that they will endeavour to secure the happiness of all creatures as well as to cultivate in their own persons the wisdom of the Buddha."[67]

The *Tirthankaras* occupy a prominent place in Jain religious thought and in the temples of some sects their images are the object of religious reverence. But as perfection of the spirit is only to be attained by its own activity, the only function which the *Tirthankaras* have performed or could perform for men is in the teaching of the principles of right knowledge, from which the implications as to right conduct may be inferred. It ought nevertheless to be insisted that the teaching of the truth is a genuine work of salvation and redemption of humanity.

India is pre-eminently the land of *avatars* of the deities. Not merely are the leading figures of the epic poems and the mythology considered to be definite incarnations of the leading divinities but there is a tendency to regard the variously named local deities as forms of incarnation of the Supreme. It is difficult not to see here the influence of higher theological and philosophical reflection on the popular polytheism, with the object of intellectual unity as the predominant motive. But there is nevertheless the element of salvation and redemption present in some form in most instances. By far the most important are the incarnations of Vishnu (generally regarded as ten) already mentioned, each of whom performed

67. Quoted by Oldenberg H. *Buddha* 1904. pp. 67 ; 73 ; ERE. III. p. 654. art *Buddhism in China*.



Sacred Symbols of the Jainas

some work in overcoming evil or promoting the good. In the *Bhagavadgita* the Lord says : " I come into birth age after age "; and the motive is " to guard the righteous, to destroy evil-doers, to establish the Law. " But the worship of Krishna is not mainly on account of his being considered an *avatar*. In comparatively late times Rama, the hero of the *Ramayana* has become the centre of a widespread cult as an incarnation, largely under the influence of Tulsi Das. "The incarnation of Rama is again and again presented as an act of gracious condescension ' to redeem his people. ' " The chief function of the incarnation " from age to age " must be said to be the conveying of knowledge of the true path to " God realisation " and to inspire devotion. Nevertheless, the ultimate object is rather that expressed in the *Bhagavadgita*, that is, a redemption from transmigration and rebirth : " I lift them up speedily from the ocean of deathly life wanderings, O son of Pritha, as their mind is laid on Me. " The tenth *avatar* Kalki has yet to come. It cannot, however, be said that the idea of a coming saviour exerts much influence in popular Hinduism, but the Theosophical Society has endeavoured to cultivate a faith in an early advent of a new great world religious teacher.[68]

If we turn to the sacred literature of Zoroastrianism a doctrine of a Saviour (or perchance Saviours) is found. The plural may mean sometimes the faithful who by their good deeds help in the work of final restoration. At other times it refers to the three descendants of Zarathustra, Hushedar, Hushedar Mah, and Saoshyant, each coming at the end of a millenium ; Saoshyant coming before the final triumph. In the *Dadistan-i Dinik* they are represented as

68. See above p. 114 footnote. *Bhagavadgita* iv. 8. ; R. Bhandarkar : *Vaishnavism, Shaivism, and Minor Religious Systems*. Strasburg. 1213. pp. 41-2 ; Macnicoll : *Indian Theism*. p. 117; *Bhagavadgita* xii. 7.

seven, one for each of seven regions of the earth. But it is Saoshyant who is most obviously meant as "the Bringer of Salvation." He will arrange the "affairs of the world and utterly destroy the breakers of promises and servers of idols who are in the realm." Born of a virgin mother and conceived by the holy spirit of Zarathustra, he will accomplish the work of redeeming the world from demons, by a crowning final victory. In the *Bahman Yast* the task of the Saviour is described as making the creatures pure in preparation for the resurrection and future existence. In other places he is referred to as the one who shall bring resurrection and restore the true religion.[69]

The religion of Mithraism which spread over a large portion of the Roman Empire, becoming the most formidable religious opponent of Christianity also contained the conception of a mediator. "Mithra was the mediator between the unapproachable and the unknowable God, that reigned in the etherial spheres, and the human race that struggled and suffered here below" "Mithra is the God of help, whom one never invokes in vain, an unfailing haven, the anchor of salvation for mortals in their trials, the dauntless champion who sustains his devotees in their frailty through all the tribulations of life." "It was Mithra, the protector of truth, that presided over the judgment of the soul after its decease. It was he, the mediator, that served as a guide to his faithful ones

69. *Shayast la Shayast* xiii 5; *Dâdistan-i Dinik* xxxvi 4; *Bahman Yast*. iii 62. See *Ys.* xiv. 11; lix. 28; *Visparad* iii. 5.: "The pious Saoshyants (the prophets for our help), the most correct and truthful in their speech, the most zealous, the most glorious in their thoughts the greatest ones and the powerful". Also *Yt.* xix 89. "By the work of the Saoshyant the world is renewed, the dead arise, and the living are endowed with immortality." According to the *Epistles of Manuskihar* iii. 1. the three saviours are expected to bring a new law in order to restore the religion in preparation for the resurrection. See also *Bundahis* xii 6.

in the courageous ascent to the empyrean; he was the celestial father that received them in his resplendent mansion like children who have returned from a distant voyage. "[70]

It has been already remarked that for the Jew salvation is always from God. For the rest it is a question of great difficulty to decide to what extent the idea of a saviour on earth is to be regarded as a doctrine of Judaism. From early times there was hope of and faith in the deliverance of Israel from its enemies and its glorious triumph. But it appears predominantly that this is to be through God, the true king of this state, theocratically conceived. Nevertheless there were tendencies to associate the king (the anointed, the *Messiah*) of this restored Israel with the house of David which appeared to be the reigning house of Israel's past prosperity. Again, in the preaching of the prophet Isaiah there is the sublime figure of "the suffering servant of Israel," but this may be, is and has been regarded as a personification of the suffering righteous remnant of the people of Israel through whom salvation is to come There are few definite grounds for the supposition of a personal deliver until towards the time of the origin of Christianity. It must be regarded as an achievement and a conception of Christianity rather than of the religion of the Jews that the idea of a Messianic king was combined intimately and inseparably with that of the suffering servant. With the declaration of Jesus as embodying these a definite doctrine of a saviour and redeemer first became established amongst Jews, but led almost at once to the separation of those since called Christians from those, denying this faith in him, continuing Jews. Nevertheless, the idea of a personal Messiah as a saviour has had and has its supporters amongst the Jews. This probably reached its most formal expression in the twelfth of the principles of Maimonides which have

70. F. Cumont : *The Mysteries of Mithra.* p. 128 ; 143.

for many centuries (at least among Western Jews) held a position of unique importance and been widely accepted. In spite of contrary interpretations of these ideas, " traditional Judaism, awaiting the restoration of the Mosaic sacrificial cult as the condition for the return of the *Shekinah* to Zion was bound to persist in its belief in a personal Messiah, who would restore the temple and its service. "[71]

Amongst existing religions the idea of a special saviour as bringing salvation and redemption is most insisted on in Christianity. For in relation with its doctrine of the grace of God by means of which man may attain heights impossible unaided, there is the faith as to the channel through which this grace is chiefly transmitted, Jesus. Whatever interpretation may be given to the term, Jesus is looked upon by Christians as a divine incarnation, an *avatar*. All Christians would agree that in his life on earth, in his teaching, in his sufferings, and in his death on the cross, Jesus was in some manner a saviour of men from suffering and sin,—preeminently from

71. On this difficult subject see V. H. Stanton : *The Jewish and the Christian Messiah*. 1886 also article " Messiah " in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* iii. pp. 357-62 where the subject is concisely and clearly discussed with a scholarly care from reading Christian ideas into the pre-Christian records. Further A. B. Davidson : *The Theology of the Old Testament* 1911. pp. 356-402 and Kohler : op. cit. especially ch. liii; the passage quoted above is from p. 388. The twelfth principle of Maimonides states that " the Jew, unless he wishes to forfeit his claim to eternal life by denial of his faith, must, in acceptance of teachings of Moses and the prophets down to Malachi believe that the Messiah will issue forth from the house of David in the person of a descendant of Solomon, the only legitimate king ; and he shall far excel all rulers in history by his reign, glorious in justice and peace .....he must be regarded as a mortal being like any other and only as the restorer of the Davidic dynasty. He will die and leave a son as successor who will in his turn die and leave the throne to his heir..... " Quoted by Kohler. p. 386.

sin. But diverse views are held as to how this is accomplished. These interpretations may be roughly classed in two groups. According to the one which claims to be the orthodox group, Jesus is the one mediator, the saviour, the redeemer, because he is in a unique sense both God and man. Then he is referred to as "The Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world," and hymns and prayers make mention of the saving blood of Jesus The crucifixion, followed by the resurrection, is described in language similar to that used in early religions concerning "the dying god." At some future time, men will rise again with their bodies, and according to their attitude to this "sacrifice," will attain a state of eternal bliss—saved from sin and redeemed from suffering.[72] Between this conception and that at the other extreme, there are and have been many different interpretations, leaning more to the one or the other extreme. This latter looks upon Jesus as human in precisely the same sense as other men, yet nevertheless a true saviour. He saves men, according to this view, from sin and redeems them from suffering in two ways: (1) his teaching and his acts reveal in their inmost spirit the fundamental nature of the good; and (2) his personality, as revealed not simply in records of him, but in its effects on the lives of those who most closely follow his ideal, exerts a positive contagious influence on men making them feel the possession of a power to achieve the

72. Thus the Article xxxi of the Church of England says: "The Offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation and satisfaction for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; there is none other satisfaction for sin, but that alone." Or, as in the English Communion Service: "Almighty God, Our Heavenly Father, who of thy tender mercy didst give thine only Son, Jesus Christ, to suffer death upon the Cross for our redemption: who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full perfect and sufficient sacrifice, oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world..."

highest. In the transmission of this influence the Christian church has its true significance.[73] The attitude of Jesus which appears most redemptive is his confident faith in God, and his love for all men, especially manifested towards the sinful and the suffering. The crucifixion and the sufferings of Jesus are then taken to reveal two things: (1) that men's sins crucify God, and yet (2) that he is still and always in the attitude of a loving Father, pardoning and forgiving until seventy times seven. The Christian salvation from sin is the feeling of divine forgiveness, following upon true repentance. The Christian redemption from suffering is to be raised above an individualistic concern with one's self by a firm confidence in God and by an active serving love of the brethren.[74]

---

73. This attitude is well expressed in the following statement: "If we are right in our belief that the salvation of Jesus Christ is a purely spiritual influence, a flame which finds in every heart some prepared fuel, and which is to be spread from heart to heart as fire is kindled from torch to torch; which is to be maintained not by rites and ceremonies and the apostolic succession of outward ordination but by turning from dead works to serve the living God, which is in the power of every living soul, and which no one can perform for another;—if this be true, then Friends have yet a great work to do in promulgating it and a great responsibility in having received it as an inheritance." Caroline Stephen: *Quaker Strongholds*. p. 145.

74. See above p.126. An exposition with which the present writer has great sympathy is given in the stimulating short study by Dr. Douglas White: *Forgiveness and Suffering*. Cambridge 1913, See p. 106: "The suffering of Jesus represented not what man *ought* to suffer in expiation of his sin, but what God *does* suffer as a direct result of it, and having suffered is ready to forgive". And p. 116: "Only by the path of suffering can love win through to forgiveness."

For a survey of the doctrine of Atonement as concerned with the relation of Jesus to salvation and redemption from sin and suffering, see Dr. Hastings Rashdall's *The Idea of Atonement in Christian Theology*, 1919. A broad minded description of what may perhaps be called the "orthodox" position may be found in A. Lyttelton's essay, **The Atonement**, in *Lux Mundi*. A concise statement of

The revelation of the path may be said to be the ordinary conception of the work of the Prophet Mahomet. He is the channel by which God is supposed to have revealed the *Quran* which contains the knowledge necessary for salvation according to Muslims. There is, however, a further part which the prophet is supposed to take. Amongst many Sunnis, Shiahs, and Asharites, the conception of Mahomet's intercession is accepted: the Mutazilites and some other sects deny it. In the *Traditions* Anas reports that Mahomet said that on the day of resurrection, the people, being sore afflicted, will approach Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, each of whom confessing his unworthiness will advise approach to the next one, until Jesus councils them to go to Mahomet. He will ask for divine permission to intercede on behalf of men. "Then I will place my forehead on the ground praying, and praising him, and will remain in that attitude till the Almighty himself tells me: 'Raise thy head Mahomet: Ask and it shall be given; intercede and I will

what may be considered the liberal view may be given in Dr. Rashdall's words, pp. 449–0 " 'God was in Christ' supremely and uniquely 'reconciling the world unto Himself.' All human love, all human self-sacrifice is in its way and degree a relation of God. 'Everyone that loveth is begotten of God, and knoweth God.' It is only through human love at its highest that we can understand the divine love. Gratitude for ordinary human love—love pushed to the point of self-sacrifice—is the strongest power that exists in this world for attracting to that goodness of which love is the supreme element the soul that has it not, and for producing repentance for that lack of love in which sin essentially consists. In proportion as it is felt that human love reveals the love of God, the answering love which the self-sacrifice awakens will be love to God as well as love to man. The love shown by Christ will have this regenerating effect in a supreme degree in proportion as it is felt that the love of Christ supremely reveals the character of God. After all, the whole philosophy of the atonement is best summed up in those simple words of St. John's: 'Herein was the love of God manifested in us, that God hath sent his only-begotten Son into the world that we might live through Him.' 'Hereby know we love, because He laid down His life for us.'

listen to thee. Then I will raise my head up, praising him in a manner which he himself will reveal to me. A limit will be fixed, according to which the sinners will be brought out from hell. But I will bow down praying him for further forgiveness, and thus another batch will have salvation...And afterwards I will say to God: 'None remains in hell but he who has been forbidden in the *Quran*,' that is the Mushirks who associated other gods with Him.[75]

The Development of the Ideas of Salvation and Redemption from Sin and Suffering.

Suffering and sin bring into relief the fact of the dependence of human experience upon the actions of the individual soul and on forces beyond it, Nature, the community, and the Power or powers transcending both. At the outset and in the earliest period of the history of the race, as in the first years of the life of the human individual, it was suffering, either physical pain or fear and anxiety which constituted the only recognised evil. That this was considered to come from forces beyond the individual is seen by the methods adopted to escape from it, those of magic or of the religious supplication of the higher powers to give relief. In so far as the suffering was caused by other

75. Muslim and Bukhari. Ch. on Redemption. Cf. Ibn Hazim. iv. pp. 63–5. In contrast with this, note the redemption which mystic union involves, as described in the words of the *Masnavi* of the Sufi, Jalal ud din Rumi : " When one has attained union with God, he has no need of intermediaries. Prophets and apostles are needed as links to connect the ordinary man with God, but he who hears the 'inner voice' within him has no need to listen to outward words even of apostles. Although that intercessor is himself dwelling in God, yet my state is higher and more lovely than his. Though he is God's agent, yet I desire not his intercession to save me from evil sent me by God, for evil at God's hand seems to me good. What seems mercy and kindness to the vulgar seems wrath and vengeance to the God-intoxicated saints. " F. Hadland Davis : *The Persian Mystics*.

human beings in the community, or by other communities it could often be brought to an end by the propitiation of the cause by the making of gifts. With the inevitable analogy of the Animistic way of looking at things the same attitude was adopted to non-human powers. The first ideas of wrong-doing arose in the race (as in the child) from the experience of suffering : that is wrong which causes the displeasure of other individuals in the community, especially the tribal chief, and then further, of the non-human spirits. At such levels of thought there has been no conception of an exact correspondence between the pain suffered and the wrong committed. This principle of an exact relation between suffering and wrong-doing once arisen has become a fundamental axiom in the religions which arose or have developed chiefly in India. Here it is associated especially with the idea of rebirth, since as long as there is wrong not atoned for by suffering the individual must continue the round of births and deaths. But there have been other tendencies in human religion which have found it impossible to accept any such mechanical balancing of wrong-doing and suffering. For example, by supplication of the gods the evil might be removed : and this has been a method resorted to even in the religious practices of some of the religions which have maintained in their doctrine the principle of an exact equivalence between suffering and wrongdoing. The term *sin* should be considered to imply wrong-doing in which there is disharmony with the purpose of a good non-human spirit, ultimately, God. In the course of evolution wrong-doing has come to imply not merely that which causes, or brings us as a consequence physical suffering, but also moral imperfection which brings the pain of remorse and the consciousness of moral unworthiness. That is far from all. It is seen to be that form of conduct which introduces disorder not simply in a man's inner

life, his self or soul, but also in the community, and further, a sense of discord with a transcendent Power most frequently felt as a breach in a personal relationship, personally experienced. At all stages and in all religions the factor of the individual activity of the soul is recognised in some manner and in some degree. But the higher religions have varied much in the relative emphasis they have placed on knowledge or on will. The Indian religions have tended under certain definite influences to place *avidya*, ignorance, in the forefront, and a doctrine of sin in the deeper sense can hardly be said to have been developed in certain wide currents of Indian religious life. There are, nevertheless ample evidences of the feeling of an alienation from God in the utterances of the saints and in the hymns of the Sikh Gurus. Even in the theistic religions of Islam and Zoroastrianism, while disloyalty to and disharmony with God are felt to constitute the main character of sin, the impression of profound unhappiness as of the estrangement between lovers is rarely found, except in the language of Sufiism where there is a tendency rather to an exaggerated emotionalism. It is in the religion of the Jews and in Christianity that the true character of sin has come fully to consciousness. Even when knowledge is present, sin may occur; as St. Paul has forcibly expressed it: "for what I would, that I do not; but what I hate that I do." This confession also reveals the human need of help from beyond. All the theistic religions have in their degree recognised not merely the need but also some divine satisfaction of it. Islam, however, looks to God for salvation from sin predominantly to escape the consequences of it in hell and to attain the reward for righteousness. So Zoroastrianism seeks the help of God not essentially for the cultivation of a personal relationship, but for participation in good thoughts, good words, and good deeds. The desire for God's grace in the religion of

the Jews is for the removal or prevention of that which comes between man and God sullying the feeling of intimate communion and co-operation. In Christianity this character is intensified.

With the advance of thought with regard to wrong-doing and sin there has not always been a corresponding advance as to the nature of the relation of suffering to it. Suffering, indeed, was the central problem of Buddhism, but Buddhism cannot he regarded as seriously concerning itself with the suffering independent of human control except in teaching an undisturbed acceptance of it. For the rest, it regards it as the fruit of wrong desire and ignorance ; and the same is virtually true for Jainism and most forms of Hinduism. For Zoroastrianism suffering seems to have no part in a divine plan : it is the product of beings opposed to God. Judaism speaks in an uncertain tone, though there is recognition that suffering has its part in leading men to God and that God suffers through the sins of men. Among certain types of ascetics in some religions suffering has been deliberately sought as a means of expiation and of the acquisition of merit, something along the line of what may be called an inverted doctrine of *karma*. Christianity does not profess to solve the problem of all suffering, nor of the wider problem of evil of which it appears a part, but it does take up a definite attitude towards it, and this is related with its central figure, Jesus, as well as intimately bound up with its ideal. Fundamental here is the attitude towards suffering. All suffering is to be accepted as aiding in the divine purpose of bringing together in deeper and closer unity all living creatures and the Creator. Suffering is to be deliberately assumed only if and when thereby the personal relationship of love is benefited. Paradoxical as it may sound, though sin represents an alienation, in so far as it leads to suffering it may

eventually promote closer union. But this brings the course of thought back to the idea of sin.

Even the non-theistic religions insist on an attitude of repentance, a sorrow for wrong-doing and a " change of mind "leading to righteousness. They also teach forgiveness of wrong committed by human beings amongst themselves. By forgiveness is meant the attitude of the person wronged agreeing to act and feel towards the wrong-doer as though no wrong had been done. In religion it has generally the implication that God is the being wronged. In the distinctly theistic religions pardon and forgiveness from God is felt by the devotee to be an essential for the complete eradication of sin. The Zoroastrian, the Jew, the Christian, and the Muslim, insist on the necessity of the divine mercy and forgiveness. Without that, the sense of alienation from God, a feeling of disharmony with the main purpose of the world, must remain, and peace not be attained. It is in Christianity that the doctrine of forgiveness has been most prominent. There is an important side of the teaching sometimes left out of attention. The expression of forgiveness or the willingness to forgive coming first may lead the sinner to repentance. The teachings associated with the facts of the crucifixion emphasise this, that in Jesus' willingness to forgive,even before the sinners' repentance, expressed in the prayer "Father, forgive them", is revealed the nature of Divine forgiveness.

CHAPTER V

RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

The intense emotions, subdued or given full play, which constitute a large element in religious experience, seek expression more in forms of action than in intellectual beliefs. This is the more so the more primitive the level of human development. The actions are in many instances at first as spontaneous as the physical expressions which accompany such emotions as anger and sex love. With the feeling of intense anger there is a stiffening of the sinews, a summoning up of the blood, a disguising of fair nature with hard favoured rage, as Shakespeare puts it. The hands are clenched, the teeth are set, and the body is drawn up as for protection or attack. Similarly, the emotions related with religion tend to various typical forms of expression, and it is from these that the first forms of religious practices arise. Being intimately connected with the basal religious attitude they continue even in the highest religions, even though in them the expressions have been more and more refined and modified as thought and reason have played their part. Religious practices must however be considered from two sides. They are not merely forms of expression of emotions, they are also means used definitely to induce the desired kinds of emotion and conduct. The successful actor in assuming

certain attitudes and actions often really for the time comes to feel as though he is the person he impersonates, with the same feelings, even with the same supposed motives. Herein lies the power of religious practices, in that by them certain attitudes and types of feeling are generated, and definite motives affecting conduct and life are cultivated.[1]

In the earliest stages of religious worship when there were no temples, altars, or organised worship, the distinctive priest may be said not to have existed. The father of the family, taken in its widest sense, took the leading part in religious practices, as in all else. So for a tribe or a community as a whole, the chief, at one time the leader in battle, at another the judge and administrator of justice, is at still another time the leader of the people in their communal worship and supplication of the gods. Even in later times, when a distinct class of priests arose, the king or chief ruler, was regarded as the High Priest, and it was essential for him to perform the chief rites on special occasions. This was certainly the case in Ancient China and Japan, as in the great empires of Rome and Babylon. But with the development of social organisation and with the exacting demands of so many other activities on the time of the kings, a special priestly class arose. One of the results of the appearance of this class was the elaboration of rites and ceremonies. What was at first simple became

1. Religious practices among primitive peoples are discussed in works, as those of F. B. Jevons, E. Tylor, J. G. Frazer, previously mentioned, and the general studies of religion referred to in Appendix B. The account above given is chiefly of rites and customs of living religions. Discussions of these are to be found only in books on separate religions or in the encyclopedias. Within the limits of one chapter it is not possible to give a full description even of all the chief rites of the principal religions. A selection has been made of those which appear most typical or have some special importance.

complicated because the priests gradually formed rules for the ritual and to come to know these correctly required lengthy training, which only members of the priestly class could obtain. With the advance of the power of the priesthoods domestic religious rites, as well as those connected with the community as a whole, came to be performed by priests alone. A priest might be kept in the family, as family priest, as in Ancient Egypt, and in Catholic Europe of the Middle Ages. Similarly at the present time the domestic rites in Hinduism are performed by "family" priests, the *Purohits*. Elaboration of the ritual came about gradually, partly through the requirement of some order and regularity in procedure. Nevertheless, the main source of ritual has been human emotional expression rather than priestly fantasy and organisation.

There is a character of expansiveness about the manner in which with eyes raised, with arms and hands stretched upward the suppliant prays to or adores the bright sky, or the glorious king, the sun, or the queen, the moon. The shading of the eyes in prayer is but a continuation of the shading of the eyes in the reverent gaze at the sun. Prostration may be supposed with good reason to have been an expression of fear felt at the mighty storm, the lightning, and the thunder. The expression of thankfulness and praise is with upturned face. Awe, reverence, fear, a feeling of one's relative insignificance, lead to downcast eyes, and a tendency to recede or to bow down the head and the body. Towards the tribal ruler these forms of expression must have been common: evidences of them are still seen in our own day. Such expressions, aroused either by the impressions of Nature, or by the *mana* of the ruler, or the impression of a transcendent Power, have continued as forms beyond the stage of simple Animism up to that of personalistic Monotheism.

If the circumstances are suitable, there is something contagious about religious ecstasy,[2] and considering the essentially social character of the earliest forms of religious expression, it is clear that the necessary social conditions are and have been sufficiently frequent. No student of crowd psychology will fail to appreciate the contagion of singing and dancing under the sway of religious emotion. Standing and watching the very simple dance of the Todas, listening to the equally simple chanting of " Ho ho, ho ho, ho ho " after a short time one feels almost drawn to dance and sing with them. Often such practices are simply a product of superabundant good spirits, sometimes they have become associated with religious objects. In the devotional worship of the gods, in the joy at the feeling of communion and adoration, singing is almost spontaneous. The frequent repetition of words and melodies in these early songs, and the frequent repetition of simple movements in the dance, lull the mind to a sense of harmony and absence of trouble. Leaders of religious revivals have recognised this and have used singing as an influence for the spread of religious sentiments.

2. The ecstasy felt in religious practices has not infrequently been due to circumstances which constituted an artificial physical stimulus, resulting nevertheless in an elation, an intensity of feeling, which appeared distinctly mysterious. The *Soma* and *Haoma* of the Hindu Aryans and the Persians were probably intoxicants which mysteriously increased the intensity of feeling, and the manufacture of the drink from the plant and the drinking both became a form of religious rite. Mr. Bamfylde Fuller : *Studies in Indian Life and Sentiment.* gives an example of a different kind : " In the jungle you may chance upon a swing suspended in front of a little thatched shrine. In it the Gond priest swings himself into a form of ecstasy ". To anticipate some later discussion in the text ; an interpretation of ecstasy common in relation with certain practices is seen in the following from Dr. E. Carpenter : *Comparative Religion.* p. 147 concerning some Orphic cults of the Thracian Dionysus : " In frenzied excitement the devotees flung themselves on bull or goat, rent it asunder, and devoured the bleeding flesh. Such was the condition of ensuring the actual entry

Dancing as a form of expression and cultivation of religious ecstasy has been found chiefly among people of an unsophisticated mentality. The more reason has triumphed feelings have been controlled and such communal religious dancing has generally ceased. The *Nihongi* talks of the Sarume, at first women, who danced in honour of the gods.[3] In some Hindu temples the gods are entertained similarly on special occasions. In Japan "both in the country and in the metropolis the people took the insect of the Everlasting World, and placing it in a pure place, with song and dance invoked happiness."[4] Dancing occurs at Shinto festivals; and also in the religious practices of Tibet, notwithstanding its condemnation in Buddhist precepts.

Singing of a more vivacious kind has always had its effect on and been an expression of the sentiments predominantly of the simpler and less cultured. There is, for example, a whole world of difference between the mentality revealed in the whole-hearted singing of some Protestant sects, and the dignified appeal of the Gregorian chants of Catholicism. These latter imply a calmer, more subdued attitude, colouring the whole religious life. Something very similar is found in the chanting of the Quran by Muslims. For Buddhists,[5] Jains, and Shaivite Hindus there is little of the nature of singing as distinct from chanting and they lack vivacity and warmth of feeling. The Vaishnavite Hindus and the Sikhs, with the Indian forms of music, which in many respects resemble the mediaeval

---

of the god into the believer's person, so that he became *entheos*, i. e. with the god inside him." The same experience, though perhaps more definitely, must have been felt with the *Soma* and *Haoma*. Even in Christianity a symbolism at least remains, in that in the Holy Communion, by participation of the bread and the wine, Christ is said to "dwell in us".

3. *Nihongi*. I. p. 79 4. ibid. II. p. 188

5. For Buddhists singing is even forbidden by the seventh of the Ten Precepts.

chants of the West, nevertheless sing their hymns with genuine warmth. Again, though the "*Gathas*," are hymns, Zoroastrian worship has little if any place for hymn-singing. The Jewish *psalms* hold a unique position in the history of religious worship, having continued for centuries to be used in public worship of Jews and Christians. But no religion has developed a hymnology so rich in quality and in quantity, as Christianity; nor a "sacred" music so varied in its expression and cultivation of feelings. The great part which singing has played and still plays in Christianity is one of the religion's characteristics, and is bound up with its fundamentally activistic and optimistic attitude to life.

Again, the practice of processions in connection with religious ceremonies at festival times may have no particularly religious motive or meaning, nevertheless it helps to fan up the enthusiasm of the devotees and to transmit to others, who are thus brought into contact with them, something of the joyous or other feelings of the religion. This is one of the only ways in which most forms of Hinduism find social expression. The religious festivals with their processions form, along with marriage festivities, the main events of village life, breaking the monotony of the daily task. For the most popular festivals, such as *Dussera* and *Ganesh-chaturthi* among Hindus, and *Mohurram* among Muslims, enormous crowds gather.

Of religious practices prayer is the most general. By prayer is meant the making of requests, in religion addressed to a "supernatural being" or to a soul departed from this life. Prayers are made to deceased ancestors, to the saints, to angels, as well as to the divine being (or beings). The contents of prayers reveal, as hardly any other factor, the predominant traits of the religious ideal, and as such will be considered in the following chapter. The various postures for prayer have some significance from the point of

Muslims at Prayer, Kashmir.

view of practice and mental attitude. Thus, a different impression is both felt and given by two attitudes in standing, according to whether the head is bent slightly backwards and eyes upward or bent forward with the eyes looking to the ground or closed. So again there is a different feeling if the arms and hands are stretched out with the palms upward, from that if the arms are kept near the body and the palms of the hands put together. Standing for prayer is found amongst Hindus, Zoroastrians, Jews, Sikhs, and some Christians. The most common posture among Christians is kneeling, which is felt to be one of submission and humility. Complete prostration is found as a more or less occasional practice in Hindu sects, in villages rather than towns. The Hindu, Jain, and Buddhist sitting crossed legged is adopted for meditation rather than for prayer. One of the Muslim postures is that of sitting, but it is sitting on the heels. In the twelve postures for Muslim prayer almost all possible positions may be said to be included. At least to the non-Muslim, prayer seems to be the main persistent practice of Islam. The Muslim, as the Zoroastrian, has five periods in the day for prayer. Wherever he is at the time the strict Muslim will perform his devotions. From a turret of the mosque the *Muezzin*, or call to prayer, is shouted, a human voice as contrasted with the metallic bell which calls to Christian worship. Having taken off his shoes and washed his hands the Muslim spreads out his prayer mat or suitable substitute so that he will face towards the *quibla*, towards Mecca. He stands up with his eyes and hands turned upward; he kneels and bows down touching the ground with his forehead; he stands and touches his ears, eyes, mouth, and breast with his fingers; he kneels and sits back on his heels; he bows down as in prostration. The prayers are normally passages from the Quran recited in the Arabic as taught to the Muslim children in the mosques

and maddressas. The mosque is open at all times for prayer. On Fridays there is a fuller assembly and a discourse, "the Friday sermon," is given. Those present stand in lines shoulder to shoulder and the *Imam* or leader in prayer stands a little in front, but also facing the *qubla*.

Such acts are simple, belonging to the rudimentary elements of the religious life. It is no great advance further to the presentation of offerings. The acts of sacrifice to the gods are psychologically and generally almost of the same nature as the offerings to the tribal ruler. The ruler becomes favourable by the presentation of good things: so also will the spirit. The offerings are in the first place simple: those things of immediate value near at hand. Abel the son of Adam in Hebrew legend was "a keeper of sheep but Cain was a tiller of the ground"...and "Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the Lord" and "Abel he also brought of the firstlings of his flock," and "of the fat thereof."[6] The primitive needs of man are mirrored in the almost universal offering of food to the gods. Now, in common English "to make a sacrifice" implies the deprivation of oneself of something of worth: there is not sufficient reason to regard this as merely an acquired meaning. The simple facts suggest that it has generally been present in some degree. The motives of sacrifices, in the sense of implying an offering, have been various. There are: i. simple offerings made in simple forms of adoration and worship; ii. thank-offerings for some good received; iii. free-will offerings made to obtain the good will of the god for general prosperity or some particular boon; iv peace offerings to propitiate an angry god or malevolent spirit; v. sin offerings for the expiation of guilt, the atonement for sin. The first, the simplest form does not usually involve much of the nature of deprivation. Such are offerings of flowers and

6. *Genesis* IV. 2-4.

usually involve much of the nature of deprivation. Such are offerings of flowers and even of simple daily food to the gods, as in Hindu temples: here all that is meant is what a Hindu would often call "paying his respects to the god". This has about it a more individualistic character. Most closely allied to this in spirit and manner is the thank-offering, seen in its best and most frequent form in the rites of harvest time—the presentation to the deities of the first fruits of the soil, or similarly the first born of domestic animals [7]

In sacrifices for the propitiation of angry gods or malevolent spirits there appears to be predominantly a shedding of blood, as of a fowl, a lamb, a cow, or even of a human being. There has probably been in most instances an idea of substitution, a giving of the animal or human being through such slaughter, in order to redeem others from evil. The purpose was simply to turn away the effects of anger or malevolence, with no necessary recognition of guilt on the part of the worshipper. Sin-offerings represent a much higher stage of religious development in that they imply that the relationship with the god or gods has been vitiated by the worshippers' own acts and they are under a moral compulsion to endeavour to heal the breach. They have formed part of the religious practice of distinctly ethical religions, being especially prominent in the religion of the ancient Hebrews. Sometimes this might take a social form of a sin-offering for the whole community; or an individual form for the redemption of a particular person. In the

7. The ancient Hebrews regarded the first born child also as due to God, but a form of substitution was adopted. Among modern Jews the practice is continued. "The first-born child, if a male, must be redeemed on the thirty-first day of his birth", unless the father belongs to the class of priests or Levites, or the mother is a daughter of one. The offering substituted is an amount of silver. See the Service for this at the present time, in S. Singer: *Daily Prayer Book of the Hebrew Congregation of the British Empire*. 1900, p. 308; cf *Numbers*. iii,

latter the worshipper leaned over the victim's head and confessed his guilt. The " blood " (or for early thought " life ") of this unblemished substitute was sprinkled on the " horns of the altar. " The flesh was sacred to the priests. The chief social sin-offering was on the Day of Atonement, when the High Priest after making for himself and his " house " one offering, then made another for the people. He confessed the sins of the people over a second goat which was then led into the wilderness. Hindu sacrifice also sometimes had the character of sin offering. " When the sacrificial victim was consigned to the fire the following formula was addressed to it: ' Thou art the annulment of sins committed by the gods. Thou art the annulment of sins committed by the pitri. Thou art the annulment of sins committed by men. Thou art the annulment of sins committed by ourselves. Whatever sins we have committed by day or night, thou art the annulment thereof. Whatever sins we have committed sleeping or waking, thou art the annulment thereof. Whatever sins we have committed knowing or unknowing, thou art the annulment thereof. Thou art the annulment of sin. "[8]

Notwithstanding other ideas and practices which have become associated with sacrifices, the attitude of making a gift or offering is always present and is an essential factor, and the purpose has been to seal or heal the relation of the worshipper with the worshipped. Sacrifices have formed part of religion amongst peoples of almost all times and places,

8. M. Philips : *The Teachings of the Vedas.* 1895 pp, 191–2, quoting the Brahmanas. In Babylon the sin offering to Ea, Samas, and Marduk appears always to have included the sacrifice of a *lamb;* that to Ishtar always *bread.* To these, however, were generally added, a libation of wine, honey and butter, meal, dates and incense. It is interesting to compare this with the idea of the Mass (see later) as the offering of " The Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world ", and in it the use of wine, bread and incense. J. Morgenstern ; *Babylonian Sin.* ch. vi.

and like prayer seem to indicate a definite need of mankind and something of the character of human life. The form they have taken has depended, and depends, on the level of general culture in the community. The object of offerings, as food, clothing, jewels, and swords, in Shinto worship is primarily the propitiation and pleasing of the gods. The number and complexity of Hindu rites of sacrifice probably excede those of any other system: "Vishnu and Indra made the spacious world for the sake of sacrifice." "Sacrifice is the soul of Veda". The majority of the hymns of the *Rig-Veda* were composed for use in relation with sacrifices. Vedic sacrifices were undoubtedly primarily for the propitiation of the gods and benefits from them: "May these invigorating offerings propitiate him." "May we propitiate thee by our sacrifice." There is, however, the hope thereby to obtain prosperity as a reward: "May the liberal man ever be prosperous, who propitiates thee with constant oblations and praises; may all the days in his arduous life be prosperous, and may his sacrifice be productive of reward." The sacrifices of Hinduism have extended from the simple offering of wood, grain, and clarified butter to the fire, to the offering of human beings to *Kali*. Hindu rites include five daily sacrifices, variously described; though generally as follows: i. an offering to the gods presented to the domestic fire; ii. a libation of water poured out to the *pitri*; iii. an offering to the animal creation; iv. to the *rishis* by the study of the Vedas; v. to mankind, by hospitality and alms. Even Buddhists offer food before images. The Romans worshipped the *Lar* with burnt offerings, the *Genius* with wine, the *Penates* with perfume. The Greeks would sometimes bring an offering of a robe to a goddess. So in China all sorts of food are used in the sacrifices and "twelve pieces of blue silk are burnt in honour of Shangti, and three of white in honour of the

emperors; seventeen pieces of silk, yellow, blue, red, black, and white are burned in honour of the spirits of the heavenly bodies, wind and rain. Several kinds of incense are used". In sacrificing to the earth the offerings are buried.[9]

Animal sacrifice is still offered in some forms of Hindu worship, especially in that of *Durga* or *Kali*, the mother goddess, to whom goats are generally offered. Perhaps the most elaborate of all animal sacrifices was the *Asvamedha*, the horse-sacrifice, the purpose of which came to be regarded as the attainment of wide or even universal sovereignty by a king or nation. Among village communities and jungle dwellers, as for example, those of Chota Nagpur, fowls are sacrificed as forms of propitiation of the local godlings. Buddhism and Jainism have both fought against animal sacrifices. Jains in India still make petitions to governments to prohibit them. For both such sacrifices are regarded as worthless for the attainment of the purpose of life and religion. The Buddhist is especially opposed to the suffering incurred; the Jain is opposed to the deliberate destruction of living organisms. In ancient times animal sacrifices were common in Shinto worship in Japan. Even before the ancestral tablet of confucius in China as late as the year 1897 A. D. an ox was sacrificed. Animal sacrifice has virtually disappeared from the religious practice of the Jews. Though it forms part of the ritual in the Hebrew scriptures, it should be performed in the Temple of Jerusalem, and that does not exist. Some of the orthodox believe that with the establishment of the Messianic kingdom the sacrifices will be revived in the New Jerusalem. Muslims

9. W. G. Ashton: *Shinto*. p. 259; *Rig Veda*: vii. 99. 4; i. 17; viii. 19, 20; iv. 47. The elaborate rituals of the *Brahmanas* are probably honoured now more in the breach than in the observance. For a convenient summary of Vedic and non-Vedic rituals see L. D. Barnett: *Antiquities of India* 1913 ch. iv. and v.; Edkins: *Religion in China*. pp. 25, 30.

still offer sacrifices, especially on the *Bakar Id*. Their slaughter of cows in India is one of the greatest violations of Hindu sentiment. Animal sacrifice is also found at times at the shrines of Muslim saints. Dr. Curtis gives the following account by a Surur of Baghdad concerning the ritual at the shrine of Abdu Khadir: "They vow that if a man who is ill begins to recover he shall go to the shrine. He is stripped to the waist. Then two men lift a lamb or a kid above his head, and bathe his face, shoulders, and the upper part of his body with the blood. While the butcher kills the animal, the sheik repeats the first sura of the Quran. They also wrap him in the skin of the animal". The Sikhs in opposing the surrounding Hindu idolatry also abandoned the animal sacrifices in some instances associated with it.[10]

That human sacrifice has been practiced among peoples of different ages and widely different parts of the world is certain: though it is open to doubt whether the custom was anywhere frequent. Further, it is almost impossible to say what the principal motive can have been: it is probable that the motive varied with time and place. In its lowest form it may have been the slaying of prisoners of war by tribes given to cannabalism, who offered to the gods a portion of the human victim. Sacrifices of one or more individuals of the tribe as a propitiation of some spirit or spirits supposed to be causing frequent deaths by epidemic disease or otherwise form a distinct class. It will be seen that in the sacramental meal when a sacred animal has been killed that it was supposed that by participation the devotees became imbued with its spirit, or became purified by contact with the

10. *Rig Veda* i. 162 163; cf. L. D. Barnett: *Antiquities of India* pp. 160–171; E. H. Parker: *Studies in Chinese Religion*. 1910 p. 182; S. Curtis: *Semitic Religion today*.

blood. It is open to some doubt whether part of the victim was eaten in human sacrifice (among normal non-cannibals), but that the blood was thought to have some beneficial effect is more than probable. Thus some instances of human sacrifice may have been due to the victim in the early stages of anthropomorphism being regarded as "sacred," even as the god. Less mystical but more idealistic are the instances in which the human being offered is offered because it is the most precious and beloved offering the individual could make. Human sacrifices have been practised in West Africa to gain the special favour of the gods. In addition there has been the killing of slaves, and wives to form attendants for some departed chief. A similar practice appears to have been known in ancient Japan, as in the *Nihongi* there is mentioned an edict that clay models are be substituted for human beings. The Hindu practice of *suttee*, the widow immolating herself on the funeral pyre of her husband, probably had the same motive originally. It has sometimes been maintained that the ancient peoples of Mexico and Peru were given to frequent human sacrifices: but they were probably rare. One example is that at the midsummer festival, the Xalaquia, a female slave or captive, danced night after night, supposing that eventually she would obtain conjugal union with the god but was offered up as a sacrifice. "The vitality of the victim was supposed to enter the soil and afford fresh life and sap to the venerable goddess, exhausted with the labours of the past season." Human sacrifice, *Purushamedha*, is thought to have been practiced in India, though whether it can claim Vedic sanction has been disputed. The Taittiriya Brahmana seems to require the sacrifice of a man at the time of the horse sacrifice. The Puranas recognise human sacrifice to the goddess Kali; though they forbid the *Purushamedha* rite—a fact which suggests that it was

formerly practised. The Satapatha Brahmana sanctions human sacrifice, but tends to regard it emblematically. The king of Moab is related to have sacrificed his son in order to obtain divine help in battle: "Then he took his eldest son that should have reigned in his stead, and offered him for a burnt offering upon the wall" An emperor of Japan, on the occasion of difficulty in stopping two gaps in the bank of a river, is reported to have had a dream in which he was admonished by a god thus: "There is a man of Musashi, named Kohakubi, and a man of Kahachi named Kcrono no ko, the Muraji of Mamuta. Let these two men be sacrificed to the river god and thou surely will be enabled to fill the gaps" One was sacrificed but the other escaped by challenging the river god to sink a gourd. Abraham, the Hebrew patriarch, was ready to offer up his son as what was most precious to himself, but is supposed to have been prevented by God who provided a ram, as a substitute. How far the victim of the sacrifice was supposed to be willing or was so we shall never know. But if men feel impelled to make offerings to God the offering of themselves is surely higher than the offering of some form of "property." The offering must necessarily in such case be voluntary. Thus it is that Christianity also points to Christ as the highest type of human sacrifice, in its principle a type for the emulation of all mankind. The performance of the rite of sacrifice was always predominantly social, both in the occasion for it and the nature of the ritual. Further, it may be supposed that the feelings of the devotees were intense at the time of the sacrifice. In its rite of the Eucharist, Christianity has retained this social character of worship and purified the feelings in relation with the idea of the sacrifice of Christ.[11]

11. M. Kingsley: *West African Studies*. ch. vi. and p. 142.

Sacrificial offerings are closely associated with sacramental meals. The primary notion of the offering is a gift to the gods; it is most often food. It is but one step further to the idea of a feast in which god and worshippers share. It seems generally to have been the custom that some portion of the offering was consumed by the priests or the worshippers. The sacramental meal was obviously a joyous celebration: it might be at a time of thanksgiving when crops were gathered or when from the chase much food had been brought in. Or again it might be after a peace or sin offering, when the worshippers offering the gift to the gods felt released from his displeasure and thus in a communal meal celebrated their felt forgiveness and the renewed friendly relation of worshipper and worshipped.

But sacramental meals have another and a deeper significance. The communion with the god here assumes a more intimate and mystical form. The essential idea is found among peoples of widely varying times and places, that by participation of the flesh of an animal, its qualities and powers are assimilated. Animals associated with

cf. *Nihongi*. I. 178–81; L. Spence: *The Civilisation of Ancient Mexico*. Cambridge 1912. p. 68; II *Kings* iii. 27; *Nihongi* I. 281; *Genesis* xxxii. The local account given of the desertion of Amber a few miles from Jaipur is that it was found impossible to continue human sacrifices to the goddess, Kali, and so the city was evacuated to evade her wrath at the cessation. A daily goat sacrifice is still offered in the Kali temple there. With the account of the king of Moab cf. the following from P. D. C. de la Saussaye: *The Religion of the Teutons* p. 392: "At times royal and even sacred blood had to flow; in a period of great famine the Swedes had during the first year sacrificed oxen, the second year men; and still the crops continued to fail. Then held the great men council together and were of one accord that this scarcity was because of Domald their king, and withal that they should sacrifice him for the plenty of the year; that they should set on him and slay him, and redden the seats of the gods with the blood of of him; and so they did."

religion, in some manner sacred are not to be eaten, but this not always: they might be partaken of in the sacramental meal. The animal is not infrequently considered as an embodiment of the divine spirit, and by partaking of the animal the worshipper is imbued with the divine spirit, or at least with some of his qualities.[12] This is the implication of the phrase " eating the god. " The "god" as so eaten is not always an animal. It may be a small flour and water image of the god.[13]

12. So e. g. among the Dyaks a piece may be bitten from the cheek of a slain warrior in order that his bravery might be acquired. E. H. Gomes: *Seventeen Years among the Sea Dyaks of Borneo.* 1911 p. 83 cf. E. Tylor: *Researches into the Early History of Mankind* and E. Cumont: *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism* 1911. pp. 67–69. " When the flesh of some animal supposed to be divine was eaten, the votary believed that he became identified with the god and that he shared in his substance and qualities. When the adherents of these faiths came into conflict with Christianity they likened their mysteries, e. g. the blood bath of the *Taurobolium* with Christian baptism, and the food of these mystic feasts with the bread and wine of the Christian Eucharist. " (p. 70).

13. The subjects of sacrificial offerings and sacramental meals might be treated with a mass of detail : this has not been attempted in the text. E. Tylor : *Primitive Culture.* pp. 375-410 and W. Robertson Smith : *The Religion of the Semites.* pp. 212-440 may be said to have laid the basis of the best English treatment. Tylor maintained the fundamental character of sacrifice as gift offering : Robertson Smith that the communal meal " with the god " is the essential idea and precedes all other forms of sacrifice. But even in such a meal there must obviously be some formal presentation of a part of the food to the god, and some manner of his supposed consumption of it, and so far a "gift" is included in the rite. Dr. J. E. Harrison : *Themis, A Study of the Social Origins of the Greek Religion.* Cambridge 1912. seems to be as much under the influence of the " sociologism " of Durkheim and the philosophy of Bergson (see her preface) as Max Muller, Reville, and Jastrow (see p. 29n) stood for a position which she would evidently rule out. She appears to assume to herself a scientific impartiality which is hardly justified. As a consequence she says : " Sacrifice in the sense of a *gift sacrifice* is dead ". p. 135. " Magic, sacrament, and sacrifice are fundamentally

Some sacrifices have been for the appeasement of the anger of the god or the propitiation of malevolent spirits. Such anger or malevolence has been inferred from the calamities which have been suffered. The cause of the anger has in course of time been sought and often supposed to be found in the breach of tribal customs, especially in some irregularity of conduct in relation with what is *taboo*. The individual, the family, even the whole tribe has become polluted or impure by contact with blood, the dead, or some other object which has appeared to have

---

all one." p. 138. "Even Robertson Smith, great genius though he was, could not rid himself wholly of animism and anthropomorphism". p. 136. As though there may be no truth in these! Dr. Harrison's treatment manifests equally with those she criticises underlying presuppositions, but further it seems to depend upon attention to certain aspects of religion alone. Her treatment should be studied along with that of Tylor, Robertson Smith, and to a obtain a wider and more profound knowledge of Greek religious thought and life, Mr. Cook's monumental work *Zeus* should be studied. Mr. Webb: *Group Theories of Religion and the Individual*, has examined the presuppositions of "sociologism," also giving some notice to Dr. Harrison's *Themis*. In Babylon the sacrifice was not merely an offering, but also a means of divination from certain portions of the animals. This suggests some sort of identification of victim and deity, See Jastrow: *Religion of Assyria and Babylonia*. p.663. Among the Teutons also some sacrifices were connected with divination. See P. D. C. de la Saussaye: *The Religion of the Teutons p.* 370 Many widely separated peoples have had the custom of placing food and other things in or on tombs for the nourishment and the use of the departed. It is possible that some offerings to gods are the continuance and elaboration of this practice in relation with deified heroes. Food and flowers are even placed before images of the Buddha. It may be that in some sacrifices the burning was supposed to convey the offering to the spirits of the heavens, while the pouring of the blood conveyed the offering to the spirits of the earth. An interesting attitude is found among the people of Benin, who, according to de Cardi acknowledge a supreme Being, but as "he is supposed to be always doing good, there is no necessity to sacrifice to him"; they will, however, sacrifice to an evil spirit. M. H. Kingsley: *West African Studies*. p. 450.

something of the mysterious associated with it. In order to approach the god, even as part of his appeasement, the impurity must be eradicated: and thus forms of purification have been developed. In the majority of instances these rites have been a purification from ritual impurity, but not infrequently they indicate the beginnings of physical cleanliness and sanitation, thus strengthened by social custom and a religious sanction. But though the rites of purification began exclusively with the physical and the ceremonial, they have in the course of time assumed a reference to the moral and spiritual and in some instances become free from all dependence on the physical.

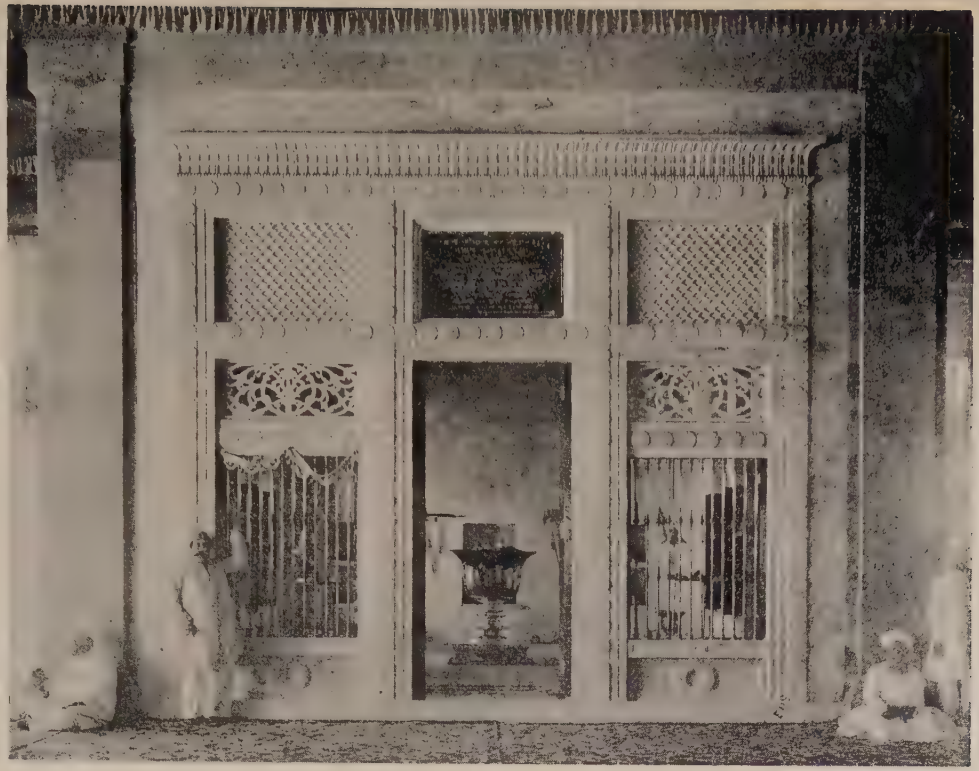
The great purifying agents are water and fire, and they have occupied the chief place in rites of purification. Bathing or washing some parts of the body has been a widespread practice as necessary before participating in religious ceremonies. Though in the higher religions this has now a symbolical significance, in the earlier stages it was considered as involving an actual removal of impurity, no doubt conceived of in many instances as a subtle occult malevolent influence. A few examples must suffice. Washing or bathing was common in old Shinto ceremonies. Among the Babylonians sickness was considered a form of impurity and " the unclean person was sprinkled with water while the priest pronounced certain formulas ", the water being specially sanctified for this purpose. There appears to have been a " bath house " attached to the temple for such purification. So in the Muslim mosque there is a tank in which the faithful wash before saying their prayers. In Christian baptism water is again a symbol of purification from original sin and Catholic Christians still mark themselves with holy water on entering their churches. Bathing in the sacred rivers of India, especially the Ganges, is for the orthodox Hindu a form

of purification from his sins. The passing of the children through the fire to Molech mentioned in the Hebrew *Leviticus* was probably a ceremonial form of purification. In the temples of Babylonia the "house of light" may have been the place for purification by fire. Blood has also been regarded as possessing powers of purification, though most often it has been that from contact with which purification was needed. In the *taurobolium* in the ritual of *Magna Mater* in the Mediterranean area, the devotee was sprinkled with the blood of the sacrificial victim. Those assembled "believed that he was purified of his faults and had become the equal of the deity through his red baptism." Almost all purification rites associated with the religions have been accompanied by prayers asking for the aid of the god, or by magic spells intended to exert influence on evil spirits. The tendency has been for the ritual forms of purification to be abandoned with the development of religion. One example of a system of purification is given here.[14]

Amongst living religions, purification ceremonies are most clear and systematic in Zoroastrianism.[15] Purity is an essential idea of the religion and this includes within its reference the physical as well as the spiritual. The purification ceremonies are chiefly in relation to the physical and have in large measure a pseudo-sanitary rather than a distinctly religious character. In so far as they represent a conflict with the work of evil spirits they are in some degree

14. M. Jastrow: *Religious Belief in Babylonia and Assyria.* p. 312; *Leviticus* xviii 21; F. Cumont: *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism.* p. 66. Symbolism of a kind suggested by these earlier practices is sometimes found in unexpected quarters. In one of the chief Presbyterian Churches in Edinburgh in 1912 the present writer heard a well-known preacher say: "One should always have at hand a bowl of the Saviour's blood in which to cleanse oneself from sin".

15. On purification amongst Zoroastrians see, Dr. J. J. Modi: *Parsi Rituals*, p. 87 ff. to which this account is almost entirely due.



A Zoroastrian Fire Temple, Bombay

regarded as religious. Further, the health of the mind and of the body are believed to be intimately associated. Four kinds of purification ceremony are performed: i. *Padyab*; ii. *Nahn*; iii *Bareshnum*; iv. *Riman*. In the *Padyab* the person proclaims : "I do this for the pleasure of Ahura Mazda;" recites the *Ashem Vohu*; washes and wipes the face and other exposed parts of the body; and ends by untying and retying the *kusti* with recitation of its formula. The *Padyab* should be performed after rising from bed in the morning; after answering calls of nature; before meals; before prayers. The last is meant by symbolism to turn attention to spiritual purity. The *Nahn* is more complex, requiring the offices of a priest. It is preceded by the *Padyab-kusti*, performed by both priest and devotee. The priest brings (a) consecrated *gaomez*, cow's urine; (b) cow's urine for the body; (c) consecrated ash from a first grade fire-temple; (d) sand; (e) a pomegranate leaf. The candidate is then made to chew a pomegranate leaf, a symbol of fecundity and of everlasting life; and to drink some consecrated *gaomez* into which some of the ash has been put. Meanwhile he recites ; "I drink this for the purification of my body, for purification of my soul." Before and after this (done thrice) he recites the prayer for before and after a meal. This part of the rite thus has the form of a sacramental meal. Then he says the *Patet* or prayer of repentance, and proceeds to the bath-room, recites prayers, rubs his body thrice with consecrated urine, with sand, and consecrated water, all handed in by the priest, or placed there beforehand. With a final bath in consecrated water, the putting on of the *kusti* and recital of its formula, the rite is completed. The *nahn* ceremony should be performed-(a) At the Naojote or initiation ceremony; (b) marriage; (c) at the end of a woman's confinement; (d) in the Fargardegen holidays.

The *Bareshnum* is a very elaborate form of prevention against infectious diseases which has come to serve as a symbol of mental purification.[16] For the former object the rite is still performed by the professional corpse bearers: with the latter motive (principally) it is performed by priests who take part in certain ceremonies in the fire-temple. The three references to the *Bareshnum* in the *Vendidad* vary as though for different degrees of pollution. The purifier must be righteous, veracious, versed in holy scriptures, and know the method of purification. Nine pits and certain furrows are prepared on a vacant piece of ground covered with dry sand. The candidate advances to the first pit and says: "Praise and commendation to Armaiti, i. e. purity of thought." This weakens the demon of disease. The hands are washed with *gaomez* and then the whole body, from the head to the feet. The recital of certain prayers is continued. This is repeated in six pits; between the sixth and the seventh he rubs himself with sand; at the seventh he washes his body once with water; at the eighth twice; at the ninth three times. Afterwards he is fumigated, and for nine days and nights must remain in isolation, taking baths at intervals. At various stages throughout the ceremony prayers are recited; otherwise it appears that the candidate is to remain mostly silent, speaking if at all only in subdued tones. The candidate eventually dresses in new clothes which have been consecrated. Priests after submitting to this ceremony then perform the *khub*, the recital of the whole of the *Yacna* with its ritual, and during the days of isolated retreat they are expected to give themselves to devotion and prayer. The *Riman* is a simpler purification.

16. There are variations in detail in the performance of this ceremony at the present time in different localities. See some variations in Dr. Modi's account, pp. 102-153.

now generally used for those who have come into contact with the dead.

Purification from ritual uncleanness has been considered by early religions as a necessary preliminary for the approach to and the worship of the gods. The essential idea continues in the higher religions, though in them it signifies not a ritual purification of the physical but "a clean heart" and mind, a "conscience pure and undefiled before God." So Dr. Farnell says of Greek religion: "At first the idea of purity was ritualistic merely, and therefore non-moral—associated with washing of hands, abstinence from certain food or from contact with the dead; but at least, by the fifth century B. C. it had engendered the higher spiritual doctrine of purity of heart and thought." Moral and spiritual purification is attained through self examination, penitence, confession, and absolution. For practical religion these are still of the utmost significance as definite acts and experiences. Jainism, especially for its monks and nuns, requires a daily self-examination as to purity of faith, knowledge, and conduct, and with the admission of defect an aspiration and resolution to remedy it. Buddhist monks also practice self-examination and confession: confessing to one another or the superior of the Order. The religious advance led by the Hebrew prophets was largely due to an insistence on inward purification of the heart as distinguished from mere ritual formalism. Christianity also arose in part as a turning towards purification beginning from within. So Jesus said: "Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for ye make clean the outside of the cup and the platter, but within they are full of extortion and excess. Thou blind Pharisee, cleanse first that which is within the cup and platter, that the outside of them may be clean also." The confession of sin forms a distinct portion of most Christian liturgies. In

some branches of the Christian Church confession is made communally in public services and also privately, sometimes audibly in the presence of the priest. The priest, on the occasion of both public and private confesion, pronounces God's absolution of the sin, conditional on the sinner's true repentance.[17]

Religion in its earliest known forms and throughout its different historical developments has been largely social in its expression. The exceptions are the comparatively few solitary hermits who have sought the realisation of their highest religious hopes in complete isolation. It is a question as to the extent to which the Hindu *sannyasi* ought or has usually sought the self-sufficiency of his own *atman* as identical with *Brahman* in complete severance from his fellowmen. In principle it would seem that freedom from social life in each and every sense is implied; and in practice that has probably been often enough adopted. Even then the condition of the *sannyasi* is only one of the four *Ashramas* of the Hindu's life, and Hinduism, as a religion catering for the whole of life makes provision for external social expression. In the next paragraphs an account is given of typical aspects of the social expression of religion as found in the ritual and services in temples, churches, and similar buildings set apart for communal religious worship. It may be observed incidentally that such buildings are sometimes as though primarily the dwelling places of the gods;[18] at others they are simply and solely

17. L. R. Farnell : *Higher Aspects of Greek Religion.* p. 135; S. Stevenson: *Heart of Jainism* p. 165. For an account of confession in Buddhist practice, see H. Baynes : *The Way of the Buddha.* 1906. pp. 69-84. In the practice as there described each confesses to the others and each grants absolution. Individuals have periods of penance and probation. For Jesus' saying: *Matthew* xxiii. 25—26.

18. According to the Hebrew scriptures (see e. g. I. *Kings* 11-13) the temple was " the house of Lord, " and " a cloud filled the house ", " for the glory of the the Lord " had filled it. There seems a

places of assembly for social religious devotional practices. To the account of the social observances, brief references to individual private practices are added.

The worship in a Vaishnavite temple is suggestive of the devotion to a king. Early in the morning the *pujari* [temple priest] or *maharaj* having bathed enters the chamber of the gods. He awakens them, washes, dries, and dresses them, sometimes putting on ornaments. At festival times the most expensive ornaments of the temple are used. Then offerings of flowers and food-stuffs [as rice and sweet-meats] are made. Good Vaishnavas should each morning come and pay their respects and utter their prayers to the gods. At noon the gods are fed, the food stuffs being put for a time before the gods and afterwards taken by others as *prasad* [offerings] of the gods. During the afternoon the gods are supposed to sleep. Similar rites are performed in the evening. There is *arati*, the display of lights, and there are prayers at both morning and evening *puja* [worship]. At the evening ceremony the gods are dressed for the night and the flowers and offerings of the morning removed. It is in the evening that *Bhajans* or devotional singings are sometimes held. Occasionally there are *kirtans* [religious discourses] and *Purans* [recitations from the *Purans*, legendary histories of the gods].

There is an extreme simplicity about a Shaivite temple. The *lingam* [representing a *penis*] generally on a *yoni* [representing the *labia* of a female organ] is situated in the innermost chamber. Early in the morning the *pujari* or temple priest bathes and puts on a special garment; then in reverential attitude approaches the image. With prayers he pours water on the *lingam* and makes on

tendency to a similar attitude of mind among certain Christians who, talking of a " Real presence " of Christ in the Holy Communion, " Reserve " some of the consecrated bread in the church with a light burning continually before it.

it the three marks of *tripundra* with a paste of sandal-wood ash, mixed sometimes with saffron. He makes similar marks on his own forehead and places flowers and leaves on the top of the *lingam* as a sort of offering to the god. During the ceremony sticks of incense are sometimes burnt, making a *dhupa* [incense offering]. Lights from *ghee* [clarified butter] are lit and *arati* [circulation of the light around the image] is performed. He rings a bell in one hand and moves the lamp with the other. During all this he continues his *mantras* [prayers or invocations] offering various services to the god. A similar form of worship is gone through in the evening. Laymen may visit the temple at any time and bow down before the image. At the time of *arati* they may ring a bell [generally hanging in the temple] and blow a trumpet [*conch*, literally, shell]. If a devotee supplies the money for sufficient *ghee* a light may be kept constantly burning. On days of festival the image may be decorated, and many lights may be lit in the temple.

It is said that no "twice-born" Hindu can continue as such who does not daily go through the *Gayatri Japa*. Briefly the *Sandhya-Vandana* is the prayer to be addressed daily to the sun for the removal of sins. The form of the ceremony is as follows. Bathing is performed by throwing water on the body by the hands formed into a hollow; water is then sipped in the right hand, the lips are wiped twice, and with the wet fingers the head, the eyes, the nostrils, the ear, and the heart are touched. This is then followed by the well-known practice of *Pranayama*, which consists in closing the right nostril, drawing up breath through the left, shutting the mouth and then closing the nostrils with the fingers of the right hand; then finalling expelling the breath through the left nostril. During and after this the mind is set on certain definite *mantras*, varying with the three times of the Sandhya prayer, morn-

ing, midday, and evening. For the *Gayatri Japa* proper there must be three suppressions of the breath; the devotee is to face the sun, in the morning standing, in the evening sitting. The *Gayatri* and various prayers are said, for example : " Oh Varuna (the spirit pervading the Universe) listen to this my prayer and make me happy today, I call thee seeking protection ". The last prayer is : " Oh Lord Savitar, give us good fortune, including children, today; keep off evil dreams; keep off, Oh Lord Savitar, all evils; give me whatever is good ".[19]

In principle Buddhism can accord little worth to the common practices of religion, nevertheless in its popular forms it has tended to absorb the ritual prevailing in the countries of its adoption or has implanted there what it had borrowed from Brahmanical Hinduism. Further, in Nepal and in some few other countries it became distinctly Tantric. A pure Buddhism limits its ritual to forms of veneration of the Buddha and the Boddhisatvas.Buddhist sculptures have frequent representations of the veneration of the Buddha. At his death his relics are supposed to have been divided and sent to different places. One disciple says:

" King of the Law, the most exalted Lord,
Unequalled through the threefold world,
Teacher and guide of men and gods,
Our loving father, and of all that breathes,
I bow myself in lowest reverence, and pray
That thou wouldst soon destroy the power of former works.
To set forth thy praise
Unbounded Time would not suffice. "[20]

19. This is one form, that of *Yajurvedins*, different in some particulars both in act and word from that of the *Rigvedins*. See *Sandhya-Vandana* trs. S. Venkatrama Sastri, Mysore 1905. Also Srisa Chandra Vidyarnava: *The Daily Practice of the Hindus*, Allahabad. 1918. 20. S. Beal : *Catena* p. 243.

Incense and flowers are offered before the images. But besides this veneration, for the Buddhist monk and nun meditation is the chief duty. Meditation has had its distinct place in the religious practice of Brahmanical ascetics, in the life of Christian saints, and as *dhikr* among Sufi and other Muslim sects. Buddhism, however, emphasises it most ; and the aim is the attainment of *Samadhi* or trance, or various powers of *Yoga*. One form of meditation, as the contemplation of a decaying corpse or of human bones, has the object of cultivating a passionlessness towards the affairs of the flesh, fleeting and turned to decay as they are.[21]

The practices of the idolatrous sects of the Jains are summed up in the expression of the veneration of the Tirthankaras, as embodying the ideal.[22] The non-idolatrous Sthanakavasis hold short " services " of chanting and of religious instruction in their *Upasaras*, a sort of

21. See especially *Manual of a Mystic* translated by F. L. Woodward. 1916. Mr. Woodward remarks of the exercises prescribed : " There is no one now, as far as I know, in Ceylon who either knows or practises these strenuous exercises ". p. xix cf. *Buddha Karita* of Asvaghosha, trs E. B. Cowell. p. 134. " True meditation is produced in him whose mind is self-possessed and at rest,—to him whose thoughts are engaged in meditation the exercise of perfect contemplation begins at once. By contemplation are obtained those conditions through which is eventually gained that supreme calm, undecaying, immortal state, which is so hard to reach. "

22. J. L. Jaini : *Outlines of Jainism*. p. 3. " The worship and reverence are given to all human souls worthy of it, in whatever country or clime they may be. (2) The worship is impersonal. It is the aggregate of the qualities that is worshipped rather than any particular individual." cf. Muni Nyayavijaya's: *Adhyatma-Tattvaloka* : p. xiii. " The worshippers of Mahavira and other Tirthankaras adore them because they embody in themselves the perfect realisation of the Jain ideal and because their worship spiritualises the Soul by constantly bringing that high and noble ideal before the mind of worshipper.

house of assembly where the monks may stay in the rainy season or for other short periods. Meditation is a fundamental practice for those striving systematically to attain *Moksha*. " Dhyana or meditation is of supreme importance for a person who seeks liberation. " Worship is said to be self–contemplation, the purifying of one's ideas and emotions. It should be regularly practiced for fortytwo minutes three times a day. Every fortnight one or two fasts should be observed.[23]

The most impressive act of Confucian worship is the " worship of heaven " at the Temple of Heaven. The leading part used to be taken by the Emperor but in 1915 the President of the republic officiated. "Accompanied by music, the chanting of supplications, the burning of incense, and many obeisances, the President ascended the marble steps of the great altar, beneath a cloudless sky, and offered with appropriate ritual, a blue paper inscribed with prayers written in vermilion, a tray containing the blood and hair of a bullock slaughtered the day before, silk, soup, wine, grain, and jade. All except the jade were then burnt in the great brazier adjoining the altar ". Worship is also offered at the temple of Confucius and periodically to the spirits of ancestors.[24]

---

23. The following is an instruction for the practice of meditation : *Dravya Samgraha*, Appendix p. lxii. cf. 121. " The Yogin should imagine or place before his mind a vast ocean of milk, hushed and tranquil and without waves. He should then imagine a lotus with a thousand petals, as big as Jambudvipa and shining like gold, to be situated in the midst of it, and the lotus to have a celestial pericarp like a mountain of gold. He should conceive a lofty throne resembling the autumnal moon to be placed in that pericarp and should imagine himself as sitting at ease on that throne, serene, without desire, or hatred and prepared to conquer his enemy the Karman. Thus ends the first Dharana. " For subsequent stages see following pages. cf. *Adhyatma Tattvaloka* p. 42,

24. See E. H. Parker : *Studies in Chinese Religion*. p. 221 ; H. A. Giles : *Confucianism and its Rivals*. quotation from p. 263.

Zoroastrianism recognises five divisions of the day, in three of which obeisance should be made to the sun. The daily worship, either in the home or the "temple" should usually be before the sacred fire, the symbol of purity. Of Zoroastrian temple ceremonies the *Yacna* is perhaps the most interesting. It seems to have something of the character of a sacramental meal. The main part of this is the preparation and the drinking of the *Haoma*, but there are also sacred breads (*Darun*) which are to be eaten only by Zoroastrians. The priest says: "Ye persons who have been qualified by your righteousness and piety partake of this consecrated food." The officiating priest partakes first of the *Darun*, and others follow, if they wish. A small quantity of clarified butter is placed on the *Darun*. After preparing the *Haoma* the priest says words of praise and prays that the drinking of it may bring spiritual happiness to him. The second preparation is reserved for the congregation.[25]

Jewish worship, mornings and evenings, and especially on the Sabbath day of each week, consists of singing of the Psalms, reading of the Law and the Prophets, and prayer. In the morning the *Retsuah* is placed thrice round the middle finger, symbolic of a betrothal of the worshipper and God. A *Tephillah* is placed on the arm and one on the forehead. These contain sections of the Law; on the arm as a "memorial of God's outstretched arm"; on the forehead to teach that the mind is to be subjected to God's service.[26]

25. For a full account of the ritual see the paper *The Liturgical Services of the Parsis.* by Dr. J. J. Modi in the Proceedings of the Anthropological Society of Bombay for 1920, pp. 996—1065. Dr. Modi points out that like bread used in the Catholic Mass the *Darun* is supposed to be round; its consecration with symbols of good thought, word, and deed, is likened to the making of the sign of the cross over the bread. Both are reserved to the members of the faiths concerned.

26. See S. Singer: *Authorised Daily Prayer Book.*

The central rite of Christianity is indisputably the ceremony variously called the Lord's Supper, the Holy Communion, the Eucharist, the Mass. In it religious mysticism and the feeling of social corporateness are more genuinely and profoundly experienced than in any other religious practice of Christendom. But the interpretations as to the basis and the implications of this rite vary between extremes as great as those indicated in reference to the incarnation in Jesus. The various names given above have become associated in large measure, though not absolutely and entirely, with the different beliefs as to the nature of the rite. Nevertheless, the simpler forms of interpretation are usually accepted in addition to their own by those who hold the other views. The term "the Lord's Supper" is generally the only name used by those who hold the simplest interpretation. According to this at the time of its inauguration Jesus was celebrating with his disciples the Jewish feast of the Passover, itself regarded as a memorial festival of an event in Hebrew history. So analogously, Jesus instituted the Lord's Supper as a simple memorial rite: "And he took bread and gave thanks and and brake it, and gave unto them saying: This is my body which is given for you; *this do in remembrance of me.* Likewise also the cup after supper, saying: This is the new testament in my blood which is shed for you." But whatever the significance of the Passover to Jesus' immediate disciples, the rite of the Lord's Supper came to mean much more than a simple memorial when Christianity began to spread in non-Jewish lands. Thus it became associated with the love feast, the Agape, and attained more definitely the character of a social act of a religious character, a Holy Communion. Other developments tended to emphasise the relation of the rite with the sacrifice which Jesus had made in his suffering and death; and the breaking

of the bread and pouring the wine emblematic of his body and blood became the centre of the highest service of praise and thanksgiving, the Eucharist. But in the non-Christian environment there were other ideas and practices which led to another attitude towards the rite, whether this further significance was originally implied in it, or not. Jesus, as most great religious teachers, had frequently taught in parables, and those who have limited themselves to the views so far mentioned have taken his words - "*This is my body*" "*This is my blood*" as only symbolical expressions. They might, however, mean more: that partaking of the consecrated elements one actually receives of the mystical body of Christ, analogously with the manner in which one was supposed to be imbued with the spirit of the god in the sacramented meal. Christ, "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world," is an eternal sacrifice present in each and every Mass. This may be expressed in the words of the Roman Catholic Missal "Wherefore, O Lord, we thy servants,.....do offer unto thy most excellent majesty of thine own gifts bestowed upon us, a clean victim, a spotless victim a holy bread of life everlasting, and the chalice of eternal salvation." "We most humbly beseech thee, almighty God, to command that these things be borne by the hands of thy holy angel to thine altar on high, in the sight of thy divine majesty, that so many of us, as at this altar shall partake of and receive the most holy body and blood of thy Son, may be filled with every heavenly blessing and grace." Thus it would be maintained by Catholic Christians that the rite is at once a sacrifice and sacramental meal. Around it have grown up the most dignified forms of Christian ritual and some of the profoundest sentiments. It has been and is the means of the most intimate form of social transmission of Christian ove and unity, and in it, as in no other Christian rite, is

cultivated the spirit of the presence of and communion with the divine. In short, here is one of those mystical forms of religion in which words fail to describe what experience alone reveals. In addition to this rite the daily and special Sunday services in Christian churches consist of prayers, the singing of hymns, and reading of the scriptures. The usual daily private practice of devout Christians includes morning and evening prayers; with "grace" (a short supplication and thanksgiving) before and after meals.[27]

Muslim practice is bound up with what have been called "the five pillars of Islam." The first is the recital of the *kalima*: "There is no God but God; and Mohammed is the prophet of God." The second is *prayer* at dawn, noon, afternoon, just after sunset, at night. The third is *fasting*, especially in the month of Ramadhan. The fourth is *alms*, implying regular contribution calculated on a definite plan. The fifth is *pilgrimage* to Mecca. The "service" in the mosque consists of the daily prayers and the "Friday sermon."

For the Sikh *Gurus* the chief thing needful in religion is devotion to God, the faithful utterance of the divine name. Without this the practices of religion are worthless, and in general the Gurus opposed forms of Hindu ritual. The worship of images is forbidden; the practices of the *yogi* are scorned. Sikh worship consists chiefly in recitation or singing of the hymns of the Gurus and in listening to the reading af the *Granth Saheb* which is carried on a cushion and treated with marks of respect.

27. See V. Staley: *The Catholic Religion.* 1893 pp. 245–261; for early doctrines of this rite see J. F. Bethune Baker. *Early Christian Doctrine* pp. 393–427; and for comparisons and contrasts with other cults, W. S. Groton: *The Christian Eucharist and the Pagan Cults.* 1914. For good examples of the usual form of morning and evening service, see the *Book of Common Prayer* of the Church of England.

Religious festivals show most definitely the essentially social character of religion. They belong to one of three groups, although in the course of history they have often become associated in popular belief with more than one. They are connected (1) with astronomical facts,[28] the positions of the heavenly bodies; (2) with agricultural activities; and (3) with historical personages or events.

That early religion grew up in relation with the feelings aroused by nature, especially the sun and in a less degree and among fewer peoples the moon, may be believed from the close association of religious festivals with astronomical changes. But as the chief astronomical changes co-incide with the alternation of the seasons and so with definite episodes of agricultural life, the rites connected with the latter have obscured to some extent the factor of Simple Nature Worship in these festivals. The Hebrew *Sabbath* was probably related originally with a general Semitic practice dependent on the phases of the moon. Nevertheless the ancient Hebrew writers gave another reason for the rigid customary observances on the Sabbath. To explain the taboo of not working on the Sabbath day they

28. The strange phenomena of treating certain numbers as sacred may in part have originated in relation with the astrological consideration of the phases of the moon. To the Jew the number 7 was the sacred number : the world was created in seven days ; every seventh day was the Sabbath and every seventh year the sabbathical year; the candelabra in the temple had seven branches. In the apocalyptical book of the New Testament called *The Revelation of St. John the Divine* the numbers seven and those divisible by three or twelve take a prominent place. The Ismailia sect of Muslims are much concerned with seven and twelve. The seventh day of the seventh month used to be one of the most popular festivals in town and country in Japan. In the structure of the Altar of Heaven in China odd numbers alone were used, especially three and nine and their multiples. Even so recent a movement as Bahaism seems to regard nineteen as sacred.

associated the seventh day with the idea of the cosmological idea of creation in six days. Its observance became regarded as of so great an importance that we have one example of a man who was stoned to death for gathering sticks on the Sabbath. Even at the time of Jesus his followers were strongly rebuked for plucking ears of corn on the Sabbath. The Maccabees meeting the enemy just before the Sabbath, refused to fight because to fight was to work, and in consequence were massacred. The sacrifice of man to the Sabbath was one of the grounds of the opposition of Jesus to his fellow Jews. "The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath."[29]

For Hindus, Jains, and Buddhists, the *Chaturmasa*, or four rainy months of the year have acquired a special significance in that during these months ascetics and monks are expected to remain in one place and not to travel. They are to give themselves up to meditation, teaching and study. Muslims observe the month of Ramadhan as a time of fasting and special religious devotion. Food is not to be taken till after sunset. Again amongst Christians the observance of the forty days of Lent as a time of fasting and prayer is widespread, especially amongst Catholics. The explanation given of the practice of Lent is that Jesus fasted forty days and forty nights.

Times associated with agricultural or pastoral modes of life have acquired religious significance, partly as a result of communal gatherings for some purpose connected with these occupations and with the rites for the promotion of fertility or of thanksgiving for good crops. Thus, the chief festival of the early Hebrews, in nomadic times was a sheep-shearing festival. At this time there was probably a communal meal in which the flesh of lambs was eaten and blood

29. M. Jastrow : *Religious Belief in Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 338 ; Numbers xv 32-36 ; Mark ii 27 ; Luke vi 1-5.

sprinkled (with the implication of the promotion of fertility). The popular Hindu *Holi* festival was probably originally a time given up to the practices of fertility rites. In modern times songs with ideas associated with those of fertility are still sung and persons sprinkle one another with red and yellow colour.

A distinct type of " holy day " is associated with historical events or personages related with the history of the tribal or national unity as such or with prophets or saints or particular events related with the religion. These festivals have been frequently attached to the times of those of the other types and in this manner modifications of meanings and of the rites have occurred. The sheep shearing festival of the Hebrews became modified and associated with the alleged exodus of the Hebrew tribes from Egypt. The Christian Easter coming as it does in the spring [the first Sunday after the full moon which happens upon or next after the twenty-first day of March] is probably associated with nature rites celebrating the renewal of vegetation, yet to the Christian it now refers solely to the alleged resurrection of Jesus from the dead. The last day of the *Chaturmasa* is regarded by the Jains [certainly with no real historical evidence] as the day on which the Lord Mahavira attained complete liberation. Days are celebrated as the birthdays of Jesus, of the Buddha, of Krishna. Palm Sunday is associated with the story of a triumphal entry of Jesus into Jerusalem, Good Friday with his crucifixion. Amongst Muslims the twentyfifth of the month Ramadhan is called the Night of Power or of Destiny, in remembrance of an alleged bringing of the Quran from heaven. The great Mohurram festival of the Shia sect commemorates the deaths of Hasan and Hussain, grandsons of the Prophet.[30]

30. The French Positivists who posed as the representatives of a modern scientific religion recognised the value of dedicating parti-

The ascription of peculiar sanctity to particular places has played an effective part in the development of religion. In this, as so often, there has been an action and a reaction. People have assembled at a place because of its ascribed sanctity, and sanctity has tended to be ascribed because of the assembly of people for worship, or some public religious rite in a particular place. Some of the most primitive holy places were undoubtedly on the tops of mountains and hills—as is suggested by the use in the Hebrew scriptures of the term *high places* as implying the centres of religious worship, especially of some of the Canaanite tribes. If the daylight and the sun first aroused religious sentiments—the thankfulness and the joy of the newborn day—then the highest point in the district would be that from which sunrise, the dawn, would be first observed, and on which greeting to the sun would be most appropriately made.

Again, if our view of early religion is correct, great aspects of nature would arouse religious response. This would apply to the curious and wonder inspiring as well as to that which affects by its beauty. At Mecca is a large black meteorite with was admittedly a centre of religious life before the time of the Prophet. It has now become the point to which Muslims, world-wide turn daily in prayer, and which in the pilgrimage ceremonies at Mecca they kiss. The great rivers of India are all sacred, pre-eminently the Ganges, partly by an attraction of the beauty and power of running water and partly on account of their beneficial effects in a sun-scorched land. It was natural that ascetics should assemble here and that at

---

cular days to the great leaders of mankind and had their Calendar. On the other hand it is interesting to note that the Quakers are opposed to the "superstitious observance of days". Caroline Stephen: *Quaker Strongholds.* p. 125.

some point should grow up a city which should attain to the ascription of holy and so receive the gifts [in temples etc.] of the faithful. Thus has it been with Benares.

As times, so places have become regarded as sacred owing to their association with religious personages or events. Almost any place known or supposed to be associated with the Buddha is held in reverence by Buddhists. There are, for example, the birthplace [Kapilavastu]: where he attained enlightenment [Bodi Gaya]; where he began "to turn the wheel of the law" that is, publicly teach [Benares]; and where he entered Nirvana [Kusinara]. For the Jains the Paresnath hills are revered as upon them twenty of the twenty four Tirthankaras of this age are supposed to have attained *moksha*; and Pawapuri because there the Tirthankara Mahavira attained *moksha*. For Christians Bethlehem the birthplace of Jesus and Jerusalem the scene of his trial and death [and the orthodox would add—of his resurrection] are pre-eminently sacred. Rome has become a holy city partly, no doubt through its ancient influence, and through its becoming the centre of a great historical branch of Christianity supported by the belief that the apostle Peter was its first bishop-and died there.

Journeys to places of specific beauty or of curious interest or wonder, especially if associated with forms of religious expression, must have been common from the earliest times. Similarly there is an attraction to the human mind to visit places made interesting by connection with great personalities or out-standing events. The love of adventure must also have had its part in the development of the custom of going on pilgrimage. In the Middle Ages pilgrimages of Christians to Palestine or to the shrines of local saints were very common. Though the practice has died out in the Protestant West, Russian, Greek and Roman Catholic Christians still make pilgrimages. Hundreds

Mecca.

of Siamese go on pilgrimage to Praten near Prapatom, to a large slab of rock beneath the trees, where the people believe that the Buddha breathed his last. Among Indians pilgrimages are very popular. Hindus travel to the sacred cities and to shrines, like that of Amar Nath in the heights of the Himalayas; Jains go to their sacred hills. Muslims go to the shrines of saints, and Sikhs to Amritsar.

The Pilgrimage to Mecca is the most famous of all pilgrimages. It includes not merely the journey to Mecca but the performance of definite ceremonies when there. Distinction may be made between the Greater and the Lesser Pilgrimage : the latter is made at any time, the former only at the time of the new moon of the last month in the Muslim year. The custom of an annual fair and pilgrimage to the Kaaba was probably pre-Islamic, but with the triumph of Islam it has become associated with it as one expression of Islamic unity. Five or six miles from Mecca the pilgrim assumes the *Ihram* or sacred robe, but as the merit is greater the greater the distance it is worn some wear it long before. During the time of the stay in Mecca for the pilgrimage no part of the body must be shaved or the nails cut. Otherwise the pilgrim must perform all the usual ablutions, visit the Mosque, touch with his right hand and kiss the Black-Stone. He goes seven times round the Kaaba, thrice quickly and four times slowly and again kisses the Black Stone. Ascending Mt. Safa he praises God and prays for the forgiveness of his sins; then he hastens seven times up the hill of Marwa. On the ninth of the twelth month, the time of the Greater pilgrimage, the pilgrims rush to Mt. Arafat. The prayers before sunrise are said, and a discourse is uttered by the Imam. At sunset there begins a race from Mt. Arafat,known as the "pushing from Arafat" in remembrance of the haste with which the mother of Ismail, the supposed ancestor of the Arab tribes, is believed to have rushed from

one hill to the other to find water for her child. On the third day the pilgrims ward off the devil by throwing stones at three pillars. Finally the "feast of the forenoon" is held, and thousands of animals are slaughtered, supposedly in commemoration of the intervention of God preventing Abraham trom offering his son and providing an animal without blemish instead.

The question of locality has generally appeared of no significance to the greatest religious teachers. There is a well-known episode related of Jesus. A woman of Samaria said to him: " Our fathers worshipped in this mountain, and and ye (i. e. the non-Samaritan Jews) say that in Jerusalem is the place where men ought to worship. " And he replied: " Woman, believe me, the hour cometh when neither in this mountain nor in Jerusalem shall ye worship the Father ..God is a spirit and they that worship him must worship in spirit and truth. " Similarly many of the Sufis interpreted the pilgrimage to Mecca as something which need not be physically undertaken but as typifying a progress of the soul.[31]

Religion is intimately related with the mysterious and the awe-inspiring. Since men have been capable of wonder, the facts of birth, marriage, and death have not ceased to impress them, and throughout human history forms of religious expression have centred around these events. Many of the early oustoms associated with birth, marriage, and death, being based on superstition and magic have in the course of rational development been discontinued. This has not, however, lessened the mystery of the facts, and the religious emotion which they arouse has not been lessened. In the higher religions the emphasis has changed from the physical birth of the child to his " second " birth into the spiritual order of the community. For this reason,

31. John iv. 20-21. For the Sufi allegorical account of the pilgrimage, see above p. 78.

as well as for limits of space, initiation into the community, and not birth customs are here considered. Further on account of these limits, while some typical rites are treated at length, others are only briefly referred to.

According to the orthodox attitude only the "twice-born" are entitled to hear and study the Hindu scriptures and to enjoy the practice and benefits of Vedic rites. To become one of the "twice-born" the boy must go through the *Upanayana* or sacred thread ceremony and wear the sacred thread. The *Upanayana* is a genuine initiation rite in that it formally establishes the right and the beginning of Vedic study. The age for it varies, but is usually sometime before the twelfth year after conception. The night before the ceremony should have been spent in silence. The gods and the *Pitris* (ancestors) are worshipped. The boy is shaved and bathed. He then puts on a loin cloth and another cloth is tied to his bamboo staff. With the saying of *mantras* he slips the thread over his head. The priest at this time prays that the boy may have the capacity to learn and the power to create. The staff is then given to him and he sits on a seat facing west opposite his *guru* or teacher who is facing east The guru makes a libation of water into the boy's joined hands, tells him to look at the sun, to which he makes an offering of a coconut. The guru touches the boy's shoulder and his own breast and says, "I take your heart into my vow. Let your heart follow mine. Carry out with an undivided mind what I say to you. May Brihaspati confide you to me." A new name is given to the boy by the *guru*. After some reference to the type of life the boy is to lead, the *guru* and the boy have their heads covered by a cloth and thus in secret the boy is told the *Gayatri Mantra*: "Let us meditate on that excellent glory (light) of the divine Savitri: may he enlighten our understandings." The boy then makes offerings to the

fire, stretches his hand to the flames, then pressing it to his heart prays: "May Agni protect me and give me light." Having received the blessing of the *guru* the boy, as his disciple, proceeds to ask alms from some of those present and brings them to the *guru*. In the evening he performs the evening *Sandhya*. This probably was the end of the original initiation rite, after which the boy stayed with his *guru* for twelve years of study and preparation. Eight rules of life are accepted : i. cleanliness; ii. prayer ; iii no sleep by day ; iv. obedience to elders ; v. the begging of alms ; vi. the keeping of the fire burning ; vii. celibacy during the twelve years as a student ; viii. begging alms only from those likely to give. In modern times this initiation is, however, followed almost immedately by the "home-coming" ceremony. The time of instruction with the *guru* is simply represented by the repetition of a few Vedic verses. Then follows a bath the water for which is brought by women and he is then considered as though ready for the next stage of life, that of householder, and either genuinely or otherwise some-one is offered in betrothal to him.[32]

To be a Buddhist in the full sense of the term one must seek refuge not merely in the *Buddha* and the *Dharma* (or law) but also in the *Sangha* (or Order). The admission to full membership in the Sangha is the real Buddhist initiation. At first it seems to have consisted chiefly in the shaving of the head, the donning of the ascetic's robe, and the adoption of the form of ascetic life

32. There are many incidental practices with birth, marriage and death which are mere customs founded on old superstitions but having no religious significance. These vary much from locality to locality. Those common in certain parts of Kathiawar are described in Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson's : *The Rites of the Twice-Born*. 1920 ; H. Dubois *Hindu Manners and Customs* is also still valuable in the same connection.

lived in the Order. Later, different stages were differentiated, and more definite requirements made. The candidate and his teacher come to the chapter of monks, the former in the dress of a layman but carrying yellow robe over his arm. He bows to the president, kneels down and asks three times for admission, giving the robes to the president. "In compassion for me, lord, give me these yellow robes, and let me be ordained, for the destruction of all sorrow, and for the attainment of Nirvana." After this request, made three times, the president gives the robes, placing the band round the neck and reciting the meditation on the perishable nature of the human body. The candidate then changes into the yellow robes, saying: "In wisdom I put on the clothes, as a protection against cold, as a protection against heat, as a protection against gadflies and mosquitoes, wind and sun, and the touch of serpents, and to cover nakedness. I wear them in all humility, for use only and not for ornament or show" He makes obeisance to the president and asks for forgiveness and the Three Refuges and the Ten Precepts. The teacher says these, the candidate repeating them, the former three times. "I put my trust in *Buddha;* I put my trust in the *Dharma;* I put my trust in the *Sangha.*" "Abstinence from i. destroying life; ii. theft; iii. fornication and all uncleanness; iv. lying; v. fermented liquor, spirits, and strong drink; vi. eating at forbidden times; vii. dancing, singing, and shows; viii. from adorning and beautifying the person by garlands, perfumes, and unguents; ix. gold and silver." "I have received these ten precepts. Forgive me all my faults. May the merit I have gained be shared by my lord. Give me to share in the merit of my lord. It is good, it is good. I share in it." He asks the president to be his "superior," and three times both vow mutual assistance. Retiring to the assembly his alms bowl is placed on him. Two monks then examine him as to his fitness for admission. Some of the questions

put concern his freedom from disease, from military service, from debt. "Have you come with the permission of your parents?" "Are you a male?" "Are you twenty years old?" "Are your alms bowl and robes complete?" Three times he prays for admission: "Lords, I ask the assembly for ordination. Lords, have compassion on me and lift me up." The two monks then ask if anyone objects; silence is taken to imply consent.[33]

In theory, though perhaps not so much in practice, the full acceptance of Jainism as a mode of life, involves the entrance to the life of monk or nun just as much as does Buddhism. The initiation is simple and somewhat similar to that of Buddhism. For example, for admission to an order of Shtanakavasi monks it is somewhat as follows: The candidate is required to practice *pratikramana*, the confession of wrongs committed against living beings, asking for forgiveness. He must learn from the book *Nava Tattva*. For about six months he goes through a sort of novitiate with the superior of the Order. He must always travel on foot and with feet bare, and follow the rules with regard to the taking of food, washing, etc. practiced in the Order. At the initiation the candidate must avow that he has the consent of his parents. He is taken in procession, and afterwards goes into the jungle with the monks. His old garments are taken off and the monk's robe placed on him. He bows to his teacher, who then recites some of the scriptures to him. Then or sometime during the six months all but a few hairs are pulled out of his head: afterwards this is performed twice in each year.

The Parsi Naojote ceremony also has the character

33. This account is summarised from that of J. F. Dickson given in H. C. Warren: *Buddhism in Translations*. Cambridge U. S. A. 1915. pp. 392–401. See also W. Rhys Davids: *Buddhism*. 1810. p. 159: Monier Williams: *Buddhism*. pp. 77–8; 256; 309–10: R. Spence Hardy: *Eastern Monachism*. p. 23.

of an initiation rite. It is performed on boys and girls any time after the age of six years and three months. The child sits before the priest and is required to sip three times of the sacred *nirang* and to chew part of the leaf of a pomegranate tree. Afterwards the child is bathed and dressed in clean trousers and a white cap and with a white sheet round the body. Then in the room provided for the ceremony the priests (and the child, if able) recite the prayer of repentance. Holding the *sudra* or sacred shirt with both hands the child must repeat the confession of faith : " Praise be to the Mazdayasnan religion created by the holiness, the purity, and the wisdom of Ahura Mazda; the good, righteous, right religion which the Lord hath sent to his creatures is that which Zoroaster has brought. The religion is the religion of Zoroaster, the religion of Ahura Mazda, given to Zoroaster." The sheet is then removed and the *sudra* is put on. The priest also winds the *kusti* or sacred thread three times round the body. The priest delivers an exhortation to honesty, truth and purity, finally pronouncing blessings and as a symbol throwing over his head pieces of coconut, rice, and almonds.[34]

The practice of circumcision, especially of males, has been very widespread amongst primitive peoples. What was its original significance is still a matter of dispute : most probably it was to make sexual intercourse eventually easy, or it may have been a form of rite in which the blood of the individual was offered as a propitiation in relation to

34. See Dr. J. J. Modi : *The Navjote Ceremony* also R. F. Karaka: *History of the Parsis* pp. 165–8. The *kusti* is usually made in the priestly families and should have 72 strands. It should be tied with four knots with the following sayings after doing each respectively : "There is only one God and no other is to be compared with Him." " The religion given by Zoroaster is true;" "Zoroaster is the true prophet who derived his mission from God;" and " Perform good actions and abstain from evil ones."

the *taboo* on account of the blood associated with the sex act and birth. Amongst the great existing religions it is still practiced by Jews and Muslims. The Hebrew law-givers and priestly compilers definitely incorporated in the Hebrew scriptures an account of circumcision as the sign of a covenant with God, at the command of God: "This is my covenant which ye shall keep between me and thee and thy seed after thee; every man child among you shall be circumcised. And ye shall circumscribe the flesh of your foreskin; and it shall be a token of the covenant betwixt me and you."[35]

Baptism has become a definite rite of initiation amongst Christians. It is believed to have been ordained by Jesus himself as such a rite in his command: "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost"; or again as in his saying to Nicodemus: "Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God". The practice of baptism was already known among the Jews, for John, called "the Baptist", baptized before Jesus entered on his own preaching, and Jesus was himself baptized by John. The actual forms of baptism vary from total immersion to the placing of a little water on the forehead. So again the age varies. A convert (by conviction) is usually baptized as early as possible after conversion. The usual practice in Christian families is that of infant baptism, as early as convenient after birth. Some sects, however, delay baptism until the individual can understand the meaning of the religion and can consciously accept it. There are those who consider baptism as simply a sign of the admission of the individual into the social organism of the Church: the benefits it

35. Genesis xvii 10–11. For the modern Jewish service of Circumcision see S. Singer: *Authorised Daily Prayer Book*. pp.304–308.

implies are those of co-operation and communion with others in the Christian life. Others look upon its forms, the actual acts and the formula of words, as a means of a distinct dispensation of divine grace. This is especially the " regeneration " of the individual so that he is freed from " original " sin which he is supposed to inherit as a natural descendant of Adam. Thus, for example, in the Anglican Catechism it is expressed that baptism means " a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness : for being by nature born in sin and the children of wrath, we are hereby made the children of grace ". The liturgy for the baptism of infants seems, however, to be a recognition and an emphasising of the duties which the parents and guardians have, and in due course the child also, in his (or her) entrance into the world and the church. It brings into prominence the religious character of birth and life. The guardians of the child undertake to bring up the child in the knowledge and practice of the religion. In many Christian communities Baptism is followed at a later age by the rite of Confirmation. The individual then formally, as having come to years of discretion, assumes personally the duties of the Christian life and thereafter may participate fully in the Holy Communion. At the confirmation the bishop places his hand on the head of each in turn, praying that God's Grace may assist them in the fulfilment of their realisation of Christian ideals.[36]

Amongst Muslims circumcision has assumed the character of an initiation rite for males. The practice seems to have been common among certain branches of the Semites in pre-Islamic times, and has been simply continued as a mark, as with the Jews The significance is that of a

36. See V. Staley : *The Catholic Religion.* pp. 240-242; 261-263. For the early Christian conceptions of Baptism and Confirmation, see J. F. Bethune Baker ; op. cit. pp. 376-392.

" purification " or " cleansing ", and an entering into active life. But the age when it is performed varies from the eighth day after birth to the time of attainment of puberty. The ceremony is made a time of rejoicing, and passages of the *Quran* are read in it.[37]

The tenth and last of tho Sikh *gurus*, Gobind Rai, also instituted a form of initiation rite, establishing the *khalsa* by those who accepted it. These generally have in their names the title " Singh, " (lion) as the Guru changed his name at the time to Gobind Singh. The Guru put pure water into an iron vessel and stirred it with a two-edged sword, repeating over it verses of his own, of Guru Nanak, and Guru Amar Das. He asked his wife to throw sweet-meats into the water, thus implying sweetness and concord for those who partook of it. The Sikhs were required to repeat the *wahguru* and the *japji*. He then gave them some of the consecrated water to drink, sprinkled it five times on their hair, eyes, and made them repeat the watchword : " *Wahguru jika Khalsa, Wahguru jiki Fatah.*" [Hail to the Guru's Khalsa : Victory to the Guru.] They must wear the five"k"s: *kes*, long hair; *kangha* a comb; *kripan*, a sword; *kachh*, short drawers; *kara*, a steel bracelet. They were to consider themselves brothers of one family; adhere to their own wives and avoid lust; ever help the poor and protect those seeking their protection; practice arms and never show their backs to the enemy in battle; avoid smokers and infanticides; not worship idols; rise at dawn; read the hymns of the *Gurus;* meditate on the

37. It is significant that Ameer Ali makes no mention of it in his small book, *Islam*, 1903, neither does Muhammed Ali in his Introduction or Index to his English edition of the *Quran*, nor in his small brochure *Islam : The Religion of Humanity*. The latter is probably for circulation from the Mosque at Woking, among readers in England. Circumcision appears to be a practice not necessarily insisted on from Western converts.

The Great Temple, Tanjore.

creator; and be loyal to their masters. The *Guru* himself received the initiation.[38]

Kama or love is associated in Hindu thought with *Dharma*, the principles and practice of religion, and *Artha*, worldly prosperity. It is nevertheless probably not incorrect to say that the main motive of marriage for the Hindu is the desire for a son, and the need for a son in the performance of certain ceremonies. Around the rite of Hindu marriage very many customs have accumulated, which have little if any religious significance and vary from locality to locality and community to community. Here only some of the generally accepted practices are summarised. The ceremony may be said to be performed under the auspicies of the god *Ganesha*, a picture of whom is placed generally over the doorway of the house: he is the bringer of good luck. Sometimes the marriage is supposed to represent the union of *Shiva* and *Parvati* and then the dress assumed by the bridegroom concords with the asceticism of Shiva, and during some of the time of the ceremonies the pair fast. In such cases the bridegroom, in his role as Shiva is worshipped with offerings by the father of the bride. In most marriages there is a procession of the bridegroom, (on horse-back) his relatives and friends, to the house of the bride; music being a usual accompaniment. The ceremony is performed in a square booth. The bride and the bridegroom sit separated for a time by a curtain. The worship of the bridegroom may then take place, in which the ritual sipping of water and honey occur. The bridegroom says: "I look upon you and everything that breathes as my friend. May they all look on me as their friend", and prays: "Let every part of my body have strength". The curtain is removed. A fire is lighted and must remain alight during the whole of the subsequent ceremony. The

38. M. A. Macauliffe: *The Sikh Religion*. v. 93–97.

father and mother of the bride may then wash the big toe of the right foot of bride and bridegroom and mark it with an aupicious red mark, and place on it red and white powder, rice and flowers : this is meant as a form of worship. Preceding the gift of the bride, her parents present the bridegroom with certain domestic utensils. At this stage the date is mentioned. The father then makes the gift of the bride saying : " This girl, being adorned according to my ability...she being healthy and possessing the features prescribed in the Scriptures, in order to elevate my hundred and one families as long as the sun and the moon continue to shine and for the purpose of begetting children, I bestow such a bride on the bridegroom who resembles Prajapati. " The mother says: " I also give ". At the same time the father places the bride's right hand (in which are gold or silver, rice, water and darbha-grass) on that of the bridegroom. The priest then places a string made of twenty-four threads of white cotton round the neck of the bride and of the bridegroom, or several times round the waist and neck. The parents then say : "We give this daughter : You accept her ". The bridegroom replies : " I accept this bride : May you be blessed "; and the priest says : " O bride, you are given by heaven : let earth accept you. " The father of the bride urges the bridegroom to act in harmony with the bride in all affairs of life. The priest gives a blessing and the bridegroom prays that Vishnu may make his wife devoted to him. " Agni gave her to me, together with wealth and sons. Wealth and sons Agni will give me. May I treat her as my wife. " Rice is thrown over their heads, and Ganesha is worshipped. The bridegroom takes the hand of the bride and together they circumambulate the fire. Then with her hand under his in a joint act of worship he pours offerings of clarified butter on the fire while the priest utters the appropriate *mantras* to the deities, first

in expiation for any wrong during the ceremony, then for fitness for the position of householder. The priest makes the offering to *Yama*, the god of death. The brother (or cousin) of the bride then pours parched grains, rice, and certain leaves into his sister's (cousin's) hands under which is the bridegroom's. These she pours as an offering three times on the fire praying : " May the god Aryama never separate me from my husband ". " May my husband and my kinsfolk have long lives. " " May we win the love of each other. May Agni grant it. " The bridegroom then touches a large stone with the bride's toe, and says to her: " I am strong, you are strong. I am the sky, you are the earth. We shall both wear the yoke of life together. Let us have many sons. May they be long-lived and prudent. May we be loved by all. May we have cheerful countenances and liberal minds. May our eyesight last a hundred years and may we be able to hear good things for a hundred years. Be firm as a stone. Make a firm stand against the six interior foes. The four gods, Bhaga, Aryama, Savita, Purandhi, have given you to me that I may live as a householder ". They pass round the fire to their seats and more blessings are read. They walk round the fire again twice repeating the same words. The brother gives the remainder of the parched grain to the sister who puts it on the fire. Seven small heaps of grain are made in a straight line from south to north of the fire. Then follows the taking of the seven steps, which is an essential part of the marriage. " Take a first step with me ", says the bridegroom, "and I promise to feed you as long as you live: Vishnu is witness. " A second, " and I promise to behave so that your face shall always shine with inward health : Vishnu is witness ". A third, " I will give you wealth, prosperity and the luxuries that can be bought with wealth "; a fourth and " I will be answerable for your

well-being "; a fifth, and "I will see that you have cattle"; a sixth, and " I will promise, to pay you my dues as your husband at the right seasons "; at each step calling Vishnu to witness. Finally he says: " O friend, take the seventh step with me and become my friend in reality and follow me ". He prays: " May Prajapati unite thee to me for the sake of children ". A little later the husband offers food to the wife and they eat together, the bridegroom saying: " I give you this morsel and unite my life with yours "; " I unite my bones with your bones. "; " I unite my flesh with your flesh ", " I unite my skin with your skin ". The wife gives four morsels to the husband to eat. With the reception of gifts and a bow and offering to Ganesha the ceremony ends.[39]

Buddhism and Jainism which place emphasis predominantly on the unmarried state of their adepts as members of ascetic orders of monks and nuns, have nothing distinctive with regard to the marriage of householders. The practices follow largely the prevailing traditional customs of the peoples of the localities concerned.

Marriage is highly praised in the Zoroastrian scriptures. In the married state it is less difficult to lead a holy life. The promotion of marriage is one way of making atonement for sin. In earlier times after the betrothal the bride took the bridegroom's name and in religious ceremonies their names were mentioned together. To break this promise of marriage was considered a sin. At the next ceremony, the *Divo* or light, a small oil lamp is lit in the houses of the couple, and presents including rings are given. On the first day of the marriage ceremonies a twig of a tree, emblematic of fertility, is planted near the door; on the next two days ceremonies honouring

39. See Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson: *The Rites of the Twice Born*, chs. iii and iv. from which this account is largely drawn.

the dead are performed. On the fourth day each undergoes the sacred bath of purification called the *Nahn*. In the evening the bridegroom dons a ceremonial dress and his forehead marked with a vertical red mark and wears a garland of flowers. He is welcomed on the threshold of the bride's house by her mother, and ceremonies, including rice throwing, are performed " for luck ". An egg is passed round his head three times and is broken on the ground : a custom supposed by Dr. Modi to be a remnant of animal sacrifice. The bride and bridegroom sit facing the east, the latter on the right, in the presence of an assembly of the community who witness it as a fact of the social life. They are made to sit opposite one another and a cloth is held between them hiding one from the other. There are usually two priests. One places the right hand of the bride in the right hand of the bridegroom ; a cloth is passed round both chairs and tied enclosing them in a circle; their right hands are tied. During these last two acts the sacred formula, " Yatho Ahu Vairyo, " is said. Incense is placed in the fire-vase and the dividing curtain is removed. They throw rice over each other, and during the recitation of the blessings the priests also throw rice on the couple. The priest asks three times the question : " Have you agreed to enter this contract of marriage up to the end of your life with righteous mind ? " And they answer : " We have. " A discourse is given, the character of which may be seen from the following extract : " By the helping hand of Ahura Mazda may your happiness increase..... Think of nothing but the truth.....Commit no acts opposed to piety. Praise the Mazdayaznan religion...Be as fertile as the earth. As soul is united with body so may you be united and friendly with your friends, brothers, wife, and children. Always keep good faith and preserve a good character. Recognise only Ahura Mazda, the omniscient

Lord, as your God. Praise Zoroaster as your spiritual leader." The priests then pray to God for blessings on the couple, including: "May that accrue to you as the result of perfect good thought, perfect good words, and perfect good actions..." "May they have light and glory, physical health, and physical victory, wealth that may give a good deal of happiness, children blessed with innate wisdom, a very long life, and the brilliant happy paradise which is due to the pious..."[40]

For the Jew: "Increase and multiply" is a command of his religious scriptures. Celibacy has rarely been advocated among Jews and still more rarely adopted. The marriage rite as practised by English Jews today is very simple. After an introductory exhortation to worship, a Psalm is said or sung. This is followed by the aspiration: "He who is mighty, blessed and great above all beings, may he bless the bridegroom and the bride." Then a prayer is uttered or a discourse given, followed by praise of God: "Blessed are thou, O lord who sanctifiest thy people Israel by the rite of the canopy and the sacred covenant of wedlock." The bridegroom places the ring upon the forefinger of the right hand of the bride, saying: "Behold thou art consecrated unto me by this ring, according to the Law of Moses and of Israel." The marriage contract is read and followed by seven benedictions. Among these is: "O make these loved companions greatly to rejoice, even as of old thou didst gladden thy creature in the garden of Eden. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who makest bridegroom and bride to rejoice." "Blessed art Thou, O Lord, our God, king of the Universe, who has created joy and gladness, bridegroom and bride, mirth and fellowship." The hope for the coming of these in Jerusalem is expressed. A glass is broken by

40. Dr. J. J. Modi: *Social and Religious Customs of the Parsis*. pp. 14-50

the bridegroom. The final benediction is pronounced.[41]

The Christian marriage ceremony generally includes an exchange of vows of love and fidelity of bride and bridegroom. The bridegroom places a ring on the fourth finger of the bride's left hand, as a pledge of his vow. A short discourse on the sacred privileges and duties of the married state is usually given by the priest officiating, and prayers are said for blessing on the persons married.[42]

At a Muslim marriage passages are generally read from the chapter of the Quran, entitled, " The Women. " The names of the persons are announced and a statement of the dower made. Each is asked whether he (or she) accepts the marriage. The marriage is declared in the presence of witnesses. The Imam may give a discourse and prayers be said for God's blessing on the marriage.

Except for ascetics who are buried in a cross-legged sitting position and for children under two years of age, among Hindus, burning on the funeral pyre is the almost universal mode of disposal of the dead. The details of the ceremonies vary among different communities : any account of this as of any Hindu rite must at most be typical. Before death the dying should be bathed; if this is not done then it must be done immediately after death; otherwise it is supposed that the person will become a *preta*, " ghost. " The body is wrapped in silk or cotton cloth of different colour according to the status of the deceased: e. g. a woman who dies before her husband and escapes the bane of widowhood may be wrapped in red. The priest is called, and proceeds with the *Pathika* ceremony. He offers a ball of wheat flour and water to the spirit of the earth on which the body rests; a second to the spirit of the threshold ; a

41. S. Singer : *Authorised Prayer Book*. pp. 318–322.

42. See, for example, the form of service in the *Book of Common Prayer* of the Church of England.

third to the spirit of the crossroads over which the body must be carried; a fourth to the spirit of the temporary resting place; and a fifth to Agni at the funeral pyre. Fire is placed in an earthen pot and the body is fastened on a bamboo stretcher. It is carried out of the house feet first, those present uttering the mystic word: *Aum*. Higher castes may go quietly to the burning ground, but generally those following the body call: "Ram! Ram!" Four men who have bathed, and wear no shoes or head-dress (out of respect for the deceased) and have on only a silk cloth or a wet cotton one, carry the body. After the rest at the appointed place, the body is carried head foremost. When the body is placed on the pyre, the eldest son or nearest male relative ignites the wood with the fire brought from the house. At intervals *mantras* are said and clarified butter is poured on the fire. Finally the ashes are thrown into a sacred river, and piece of bone may be retained for an opportunity to throw it into the Ganges. All who have taken part bathe. The pot is broken, and water is thrown over the place where the body was burnt. A priest may be called a day or two later to read the *Garuda Purana*, telling of the condition of mortals after death and the requirements of the *Sraddha* ceremony.

It is for the performance of this ceremony more than for any other that the orthodox Hindu desires a son, for the *Sraddha* should be performed by the son. The object of the first *Sraddha* is to provide the deceased with a new body: this is on the tenth day. On the eleventh and twelth it accepts offerings of food, and on the thirteenth starts its journey to the realm of *Yama*. On the eleventh day the son goes through purification ceremonies. He asks for forgiveness of his sins, he should partake of the five products of the cow; bathe about ten times in the river; and put on a new loin cloth. After *Pranayama*

A Scene from a Brahmin Marriage Ceremony

he says the *Purushasukta Mantras*. A *Homa* sacrifice is performed to purify the deceased from any ritual sins he may have committed while dying. Offerings of rice, clarified butter, and sugar are made to the fire, then sesamum seeds, scented leaves, incense, and finally a coconut; and the gods are worshipped. For the third or *Pure Sraddha* ceremony, Vishnu is first worshipped, a rice ball is offered to the *pitri*. A thread is also placed with it to represent clothes. " The performer prays that the gift of this ball may assuage the hunger of the *preta* and then, as he goes on to ask that its thirst may be quenched, he pours water on the ball. " A ceremony is also performed to assist the departed on his journey to the land of Yama. On the twelth day the *Samyojana Sraddha* may be performed, in which Brahmins represent the *pitri* and by which the deceased is assured his position among them. The Brahmins are feasted. The chief mourner saying, " I will now effect the union of the *preta* with my ancestors in the presence of Vishnu and Brahma", divides up a rice-ball meant to be that of the deceased and unites parts to the rice-balls meant to belong to the ancestors, the father, grand-father, and the great-grand-father of the dead man. The three large balls thus made, representing these three ancestors, are worshipped. The ceremony being completed the performer bathes. Sraddhas are held at various times but when the deceased has become united with the ancestors he shares in the rite periodically offered to them.[43]

In most Buddhist countries the dead are buried. In Ceylon monks are cremated. Processions are sometimes held and portions of the *Dharma* are chanted. Jains are cremated.

43. On death and Sraddha Ceremonies see also Mrs. S. Stevenson, op. cit. The above account of the former varies slightly, having been obtained in a different area.

The Zoroastrian mode of disposal of the dead body is by its exposure to the sun and allowing vultures to come and eat what they can of it. The various practices which have developed in relation with this are described by Dr. Modi in Darmesteter's words: "to break the contact of the living with the real or supposed centre of infection and to destroy this centre itself". That is, they are of a sanitary character, and religious only so far as they are means of fighting disease caused by Ahriman. When the person is dying two or more priests say the Patet or prayer of repentance for him, or he or a relative may say the Ashem-Vohu. If this is not done the period of mourning should be longer, as his friends have to mourn also for his neglect of duty. Formerly a few drops of consecrated Haoma juice, the plant of immortality, were poured into the mouth of the dying person. After the corpse is bathed the *Kusti* is put on it, with the saying of a prayer. The Ashem Vohu is also recited very close to the ear of the deceased. The two persons concerned with the preparation of the body bathe and perform the *Kusti*. A curious act, variously explained, is the bringing a dog to view the corpse. This is repeated in each of the five periods of the day in which the corpse may be in the house. A fire is kept burning, and sitting at least three paces from the body a priest or someone else recites prayers. The corpse-bearers should be professional corpse-bearers, and at least two must be employed. They recite part of the Sraosh-baj prayer; thereafter sitting silent by the corpse. Two priests recite the Ahunavaiti Gatha "which treats of Ahura Mazda, his Ameshaspentas or immortal angels, the future life, resurrection..." The corpse is then carried to the Tower of Silence and exposed to be eaten by birds. As part of the mourning there is a partial fast: "In every habitation where anyone departs...the relations should not eat meat for three

days". The soul is believed to remain, under the protection of the angel Sraosha, for three days within the precincts of the world. During these days, at the commencement of every Gah, two or more priests and the relatives say the Sraosh baj, the Patet, and other prayers. At night two priests perform the Afringan ceremony; honouring Sraosh and praying for the protection of the soul of the deceased: this is done in presence of the fire and with a metal tray on which are a pot of water and some flowers. For three days and nights the Yacna prayers are said at the fire-temple. The third day after death at a gathering of priests and friends prayers are said, and frequently charities announced in memory of the deceased. The names of departed persons whose work or charity has been noteworthy are commemorated in Zoroastrian religious ceremonies. At the dawn of the third day the soul is supposed to go for judgment and, if possible, to pass over the Chinvat bridge, and prayers are said imploring the blessing and mercy of the Almighty. Similar ceremonies ought to be performed on the tenth and thirtieth days and a year after death. "According to the Zoroastrian belief the relation between a pious deceased and his survivors does not altogether cease after death. His holy spirit continues to take some interest in" the living. "The funeral ceremonies are intended to produce in the minds of the survivors a great solicitude for the health of the living, respect for the dead, feelings of gratitude and love for the deceased, and ideas of morality and virtue, inculcated by the thought that death levels everybody, and that one should always be prepared for death which may overtake him at any moment."[44]

The Jews dispose of the dead by burial, and look

44. Dr. Modi: *Social and Religious Customs of the Parsis* ch. iii. quotations from pages 51, 65, 85, 86. For further details see the whole chapter.

forward to a resurrection. The burial service is marked by its simplicity, expressing absolute dependence for life and and death upon God and praying for the peace and welfare of the soul of the deceased. "The Rock, perfect in every work.....killeth and maketh alive: he bringeth down to the grave and bringeth up again." "The Lord gave and the Lord hath taken away: blessed be the name of the Lord." The coffin is borne from the hall to the burial ground and those who have not been there for thirty days say: "Blessed be the Lord our God, King of the universe, who formed you in judgment, who nourished and sustained you in judgment, who brought death on you in judgment, who knoweth the number of you all...and will hereafter restore you to life in judgment. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who quickenest the dead." As the coffin is lowered into the grave, those present say: "May he (she) come to his (her) place in peace." On leaving the burial ground grass is plucked, with the words: "And they of the city shall flourish like the grass of the earth." All who have been present at the burial wash their hands, saying: "He will destroy death for ever; and the Lord God will wipe away tears from off all faces; and the rebuke of his people shall he take away from off the face of the earth: for the Lord hath spoken it." The Jews have a memorial service for the dead, and it is customary to pray thus on the anniversary of the deaths of parents; "May God remember the soul of my revered father (mother) who has gone to his (her) repose. May his (her) rest be glorious with fulness of joy in thy presence, and pleasures for evermore at thy right hand."[45]

The usual mode of disposal of the dead body among Christians is burial. This is probably due to the continuance of the practice of the Jews, amongst whom Christianity arose. In some minds it has come to be considered the

45. S. Singer: *Authorised Prayer Book*, pp. 318–322.

appropriate form in view of the resurrection of the body. Nevertheless, cremation and also the committing of the body to the sea have been frequently practiced and there is no generally accepted objection to these amongst Christians. There are no forms of ceremony for burial generally practiced, though particular churches may have some special customs. The circumstances of a burial are such as to arouse feelings of quiet resignation and meditation: there is almost entire silence except for the voice of the priest, and the proceedings are slow. The characteristic impression of Christian burial is due to its liturgy. Here from the expression of the feeling of loss to those who remain, thought is led to the transitoriness of this life, to reach the idea and the feeling of a joyful triumph over death, and thus, with the mournfulness of the loss transcended, prayer is raised to God that the departed and the living may be reunited in participation of eternal life. The religious rite of the burial of the dead is an approach in prayer to God for the peace of the soul of the deceased; but it is also a deepening of the feelings of and an inspiration to the living who take part in it. Throughout Catholic Christendom prayers are said for the repose of the souls of the departed.[46]

Muslims, following the general Semitic custom, bury the dead. Passages are read from the Quran. Sikhs cremate their dead in accordance with the Hindu tradition.

46. The Burial Service of the Church of England has many impressive passages and best brings out the various emotional attitudes mentioned above. See: *The Book of Common Prayer*. It may be noted that cremation was officially condemned by the Roman Catholic Church in 1892 and 1896: "Cremation seems to lack respect towards bodies sanctified by sacraments, which have rendered them temples of the Holy Ghost ... It cannot be denied that the modern advocates of cremation were only enemies of the Church, seeking to oppose this pagan custom to the Christian tradition of inhumation, and to persuade the people that after death all is destroyed and nothing remains". Canon de Ragnan: *The Vatican*. pp. 445-6.

The Nature of Religious Practices

Religious practices are the forms of external expression of religious emotions and ideas, or means taken to arouse such emotions and to lead mankind to such ideas. In the earliest stages of human development in which religious practices have been found they appear to have been extremely simple. With the development of a distinctive class of priests they assumed an increasingly complex character. Further, they tended to become associated and confused with the practices of magic. Most religions have passed through a period of formalism in which piety has been estimated in accordance with the amount of attention given to ritual observances. To this there has been an inevitable re-action, on the principle that religion is a concern of the spirit. Ritual has then been treated either as mere symbolism, or even as a hindrance to complete spirituality. Under these influences return has been made towards the simple, more fundamental and basic rites of early times ; or religious practices have become more and more neglected. But with the lack of some form of practical expression, religious emotions have themselves gradually become more or less suppressed, and religion has tended to appear little more than the adherence to particular ideas about life and the world. The influence of religion on general conduct and happiness has in these circumstances greatly decreased. Religious practices in early times and in the periods of their most general observance have been essentially social events. The social environment has greatly increased what may be called both the intensity and the extensity of the religious experience of the individuals participating, heightening the feelings and strengthening social solidarity. The decay of the observance of social forms of religious expression appears to have been a sign of the decline of religious, where those forms have not been

re-placed by a substitute more suitable to the general culture of the time and place concerned. True religious advance involves the recognition of the need of emotional expression in some forms of ritual but such forms require to be an evolution of those which have for generations become part of custom in the community. The tendency has, however, been towards elimination even of the symbolic. Thus, in the course of the history of most religions animal sacrifices have eventually ceased. But while in some religions offerings of flowers have continued, or been substituted for those sacrifices, and have given beauty in place of the (supposedly) awe-inspiring, in others all such external expression has been abandoned – as in Islam and most Protestant Christian sects – unless the contribution of coins is to be regarded as such (!).

With the decline in the observance of public worship—a decline apparent in most religions—is allied a tendency to lose the impression of, (even at times to deny) the religious significance of the more personal and private occurrences of birth, marriage, and death. Undoubtedly many of the customs which have accumulated in the rites associated with these events have had their origin in superstition, and religions are in a stage of transition in which these are being discarded. Nevertheless it is impossible to deny the reality of the emotions aroused by such events, nor their significance and mystery, for any who give them the least serious thought. The arrival of a new human being is even in normal instances, and certainly in more ideal circumstances an occasion for profound emotions, tinged, in spite of suffering, with joyousness. But further, science and philosophy still leave birth a mystery in its ultimate character, and the transcendent religious reference which it has suggested is in no way affected by them. Hence the continuance of religious rites in this connection. So again, marriage includes, in fact *is* essentially in its normal

healthy physical and spiritual experience something definitely mystical. Physiology and psychology are unable to explain the whole significance of love. The physical and psychological facts of sex may themselves be considered to establish a metaphysical character in love; this not merely in itself, but also in one of its results in the procreation of new human beings. In this metaphysical character as well as in the joy in the celebration of marriage the real nature of the religious marriage rite is to be sought. What " is to be " after death remains a matter at most of faith and hope : here is no question of scientific or metaphysical certainty. But also, death like birth and marriage, may profoundly affect the feelings and attitudes of persons in this life. It depends in part on religious influences, (and thus on religious practices which disseminate these) as to what the feelings and attitudes shall be. Religious rites in relation with death continue not merely as expressions of some of the deepest and most intense of human feelings, but also as means by which religion calls mankind to view the brief existence and small attainments in this life in relation with the divine scheme and ideals for which it stands.

From the earliest Simple Nature worship to the sculptured images of ancient Greece and the great masterpieces of the sacred music of Christianity, in manifold ways, religious practices have been associated with the beautiful. It is true that in the religious practices of the past, and to some extent in the present, there have been and are elements distinctly ugly and repulsive, but the course of religious history shows that such aspects are progressively abandoned. In beauty some of the greatest religious geniuses have found the highest revelation of the divine and it is in religious practices that a true devotion to art may be most intimately united with the highest religious ideals.

CHAPTER VI

THE EMOTIONAL ATTITUDES AND RELIGIOUS IDEALS

Religion is at all stages a concern of the personality as a whole : beliefs and practices are intimately related with emotional attitudes. All three constituents of the religious life vary more or less in correspondence one with the others. But before embarking on a consideration of the different emotional attitudes it is well to recognise again the psychological impression of unity which in some degree is present through all experience. Not only is there the unity of the world viewed synoptically, but also a social experience of the unity of the community, and, further, what may be called a subjective experience of the unity of the personality. But, within these, differentiations are found, and at most stages, unreconciled oppositions. Religion is related both with the fundamental unities of experience and with the elements of difference and conflict. Religions embody the effort to pass beyond the condition of conflict, and also in part the fruition of this effort. Here it is not a question merely of rational comprehension, but also of attitude of will and of emotional experience. It is a unity of these which constitutes the religious ideal.[1]

1. Some of the subjects of this chapter are incidentally treated in works on the Psychology of Religion : (see p. 11 note, above and Appendix B. i.) Comparisons of the ideals of religions are found mostly in books by Christian missionaries, and from their point view. Mr. C. R. Jain, in *The Key of Knowledge*, 2nd ed. Arrah, 1919. has made a comparison from the Jain standpoint.

Simple Nature Worship, as previously described, includes only elementary forms of feeling. But even at this level there is the element of difference and of a type of opposition, for not only are there the joyous feelings as of praise and thankfulness aroused by the pleasing aspects of Nature, but also those of fearsome awe and respect for power. Throughout the whole course of human development Nature does not cease to make such impressions on the sensitive mind.

With Animism comes a more profound recognition of plurality and more varied feelings. To the spirits are ascribed feelings and intentions similar to those of man, and according to the experiences men have thought to be caused by those spirits they have had corresponding feelings. A spirit who is believed to have brought benefits has been approached with gladness and confidence, as also with praise and prayer full of hopeful anticipation of an energizing type. On the other hand experiences of pain and suffering considered as due to spirits have aroused fear and despair, and an attitude of supplication tinged with doubt. But it must be remarked that even in the latter there is a definite element of trust: for only with some trust that, if the appropriate thing is done, the spirit will at least diminish or cease to cause suffering, can supplication have any meaning. In fact it would seem that without trust sufficient to overcome doubt, though not to eradicate it, no approach would be at all psychologically possible. The fundamental emotional attitude at this level is therefore that of trust, either glad and confident or with a halting fear.

With Theism or any forms of Polytheism, anthropomorphically conceived, the primary emotional attitude is that of trust. In the course of development a feeling of friendship, even of kinship and of community with the divine being, or beings, has arisen. The dependence

on higher powers is more keenly felt, and in the recognition of this in social religious rites in the offering of sacrifices and then in sacramental meals the feeling of community has been strengthened on the basis also of an attitude of submission. The factors of awe and respect, even of fear, have continued, often in this that the anger of the deity has been thought to be called forth by breaches of social custom. In this way, and especially in Theisms, the attitude of man to God has acquired an ethical character. Obedience and loyality to God have come to be felt as part of religion, just as obedience and loyalty to the ruler form part of social life. The impulse to realise in and through the affairs of daily life the fundamental impression of unity leads in greater or less degree to the formation of a moral ideal and to effort to overcome the oppositions.

The feeling of social unity with the community strives in many ways in religion to realise itself in practice. The rites of initiation are meant to awaken to explicit consciousness the feeling of oneness with the community. Forms of public worship, as also processions and the celebration of religious festivals, increase the intensity of the feeling. The individual experiences himself as sharing in the activities and enjoyments of a wider reality and this cultivates in him emotional attitudes of a social character. As the primary emotional attitude towards the spirits or towards God appears to have been and to be that of trust, so that of social religious practices is one of joy and enthusiasm. Throughout the world, whatever the degree of secularisation which may have taken place, the times when the community gives itself up to general enjoyment are almost all associated with religious festivals.

In the ethical man has come to a consciousness that his own activity may lessen or increase the oppositions within society and within his own nature; further, in the

association of the ethical with religion he has experienced moral and immoral activity respectively as strengthening the feeling of harmony or of disharmony with God or gods. Feelings of discord form a distinct factor in the religious life. The sense of remorse and self-abasement due to the consciousness of "sin" has been especially intense when felt in relation with God. The utterances of the saints give evidence of how poignant this experience, felt in some degree by all normal individuals, may be. The greater intensity in them is due both to the greater clearness of their vision of the ideal and to the greater sincerity of their desire to live in conformity with it. Thus for them that appears a serious incongruity which to others seems trivial. Religion, however, includes other emotional attitudes through which this sense of opposition is eradicated: repentance and forgiveness. Repentance is based on a feeling of sorrow and regret, and it leads to an attitude in closer conformity to the ideal than that which constituted or resulted in the disharmony. Forgiveness implies a definite attitude on the part of the one forgiving, and has as consequence a joyous feeling of relief for the forgiven. But further, the forgiven continues to feel drawn to the other with a sense of obligation by service to repay in some way for the wrong previously done and the goodness then shown.

Few emotions are so intense as those relative to the association of the two sexes, whether in physical union, or in the mental communion of lover and beloved. In this and in the close relations of parent and child, especially of mother and child, relationship of persons has been experienced in its most intimate form. As man progressed in his efforts of obedience and loyalty, with trustful prayer and praise, he began to yearn for a feeling of closer intimacy with the divine, like that which he found in family relationship. The deities became to him "divine Father" and "divine Mother"; the

The Madonna

world-wide use of such terms indicates the type of emotional attitude reached. Perhaps, and considering the devotion of human motherhood it is quite intelligible, it is the "divine Mother", or the Madonna who has met with the strongest emotional response, and love as interpreted in its religious reference is most often felt as analogous with that of a mother for the children to which she has given birth. Only to the few, mostly to the mystics, has religious love appealed as of that intimate relation of lover and beloved, the relation which in its attraction leads man and maid to leave father and mother, and to cleave together as realising a still closer unity. The wider diffusion of such an emotional attitude in religion must, perchance, wait till the relation of human lovers is more generally ideal. For religion does not advance faster than general culture and civilisation. In the recognition of a religious significance in marriage, as manifested by the definite rites and ceremonies of marriage in most religions, may be found also the ground for the belief that the ideal of this human relationship is only to be approached by continuing to regard it as essentially religious.

The phenomena of suffering and death introduce many varied emotions of another order into man's experience. Almost all of these have some definite social reference, but nevertheless they are predominantly individual. Suffering itself to the sufferer emphasises the feeling of seriousness, but this may be given a religious or an anti-religious tone. The sufferer may cultivate a spirit of submission to what he accepts as a divine infliction, or give himself up to a feeling of rebelliousness; or he may endure with a calm determined chiefly by an exercise of will power. The last must be regarded as religiously indifferent; the second as irreligious, as a form of sin, an increase of bad emotional attitudes; the first as possess-

ing a definitely religious benefit deepening the personal character. Suffering also often has the effect of increasing the strength of the feeling of unity between the sufferer and those associated with him. This strengthening in small groups of persons has its influence in promoting the realisation of a felt unity of "community", which in one form and another asserts itself as a constituent of religion.

Death arouses feelings distinctly associated with religion. At first it appears that thereby there is a triumph of opposition to the efforts for the unity of social relationship. By it comes an element of conflict between feeling and fact, a rift within the unity of social life. But the tendency of religion has been to transcend this in hope or faith in the continuance of a spiritual community or its resumption in the further course of experience. That is the eventual emotional attitude with regard to the deaths of others bound to man by bonds of sentiment. The prospect of death coming to himself, whether it be contemplated rarely or often, is the ground of thoughts and emotional attitudes in degree more or less religious. For in this, according to the range and depth of the thoughts of the individual, he will consider his life and personality in relation with possibilities of experience and significance beyond the limits of that of the earth and the present. Again, death seems to introduce an element of opposition and of conflict into experience, to violate the unity of the soul not simply with the community, but also within itself, even with the Power which transcends Nature and the community. Nevertheless, religion in its advance has tended to raise man's feelings above gloomy doubt, and to make him view his life in relation with the eternal rather than in terms of a brief period of time. Such a difference of view involves a fundamental difference of emotional attitude : life viewed in relation to the eternal is far more religiously toned than if considered without that reference.

The Theistic and Polytheistic religions have been those which have given most play to the emotions, and inspired an active ethical attitude. But it should be noticed that religions which appear to be other than these in fact often include these or some substitute. So, for example, Hinduism, represented by many of its intellectual exponents as an acosmism, includes within it forms of Theism and Polytheism, the deities of which form the centre of the predominant emotional religious attitudes. Even Buddhism in practice, as also in part in its literary expressions, acknowledges emotional attitudes similar to those discussed. Of all religions, perhaps Jainism makes the least explicit reference to the place and cultivation of such emotions.

In religion men have sought and in varying degrees have found a "peace which the world cannot give". Peace comes after a conflict : it is felt in a transcendence of the opposition of the apparently actual and the ideal. Calm and equanimity of mind are emotional attitudes found pre-eminently in religions in which contemplative meditation is emphasised. They are characteristic of religions such as Jainism, Buddhism, and the *advaitist* forms of Hinduism. An exaggeration of reflection and the intellectual over the active and the emotional tends to the representation of the ideal as predominantly that of peace and calm.

The emotional attitudes of the religions are, however, best considered in relation with the ideals which they endeavour to express and to realise. Though in their forms as wholes the religions have depended and depend upon the changing levels of general culture, it does not follow that the latest phase of religion or the latest religion contains the most intimate or adequate apprehension of the ideal. Religions now dead and gone have included the apprehension of very high religious ideals, even yet unattained by the majority of humanity. Some illustrations are here given.

The fact of prayer is itself significant of an emotional attitude; it is in the contents of prayers that something of the inspiring ideal may be sought with more insight into a religion than in almost any other aspect of it. The prayers here quoted are not necessarily typical of the religions from which they come: but they show the heights to which some of their devotees could attain in them. So Nebuchadnezzar prayed to Marduk:

"O eternal prince! Lord of all being!
To the king whom thou lovest, and
Whose name thou hast proclaimed,
As was pleasing to thee,
Do thou lead aright his name,
Guide him in a straight path.
I am the prince, thy favourite,
The creature of thy hand;
Thou hast created me, and
With dominion over all people
Thou hast entrusted me.
According to thy favour, O Lord.
Which thou dost bestow on
All people,
Cause me to love thy exalted lordship,
And create in my heart
The worship of thy divinity.
And grant whatever is pleasing to thee,
Because thou hast fashioned my life."[2]

To another royal personage of a different clime, the Emperor Ching of China, a prayer is ascribed breathing a charming simplicity:

"Let me be reverent, be reverent,
Even as the way of Heaven is evident,

2. R. W. Rogers: *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* 1908 p. 71.

And its appointment easy is to mar.
Let me not say, " It is too high above, "
Above us and below us doth it move,
And daily watches wheresoe'er we are.
It is but as a little child I ask,
Without intelligence, to do my task,
Yet learning, month by month, and day by day,
I will hold fast some gleams of knowledge bright.
Help me to bear my heavy burden right.
And show me how to walk in wisdom's way. "[3]

From ancient Peru fragments remain which show that there a high ideal was sometimes perceived, and a profoundly religious emotion experienced :

" Oh, come then !
Great as the heavens,
Lord of all the earth,
Great First Cause,
Creator of men.
Ten times I adore thee,
Ever with my eyes
Turned to the ground,
Hidden by the eyelashes,
Thee am I seeking.
Oh, look on me !
Like as for the rivers,
Like as for the fountains,
When grasping with thirst,
I seek for thee.
Encourage me,
Help me !
With all my voice
I call on thee;

3. *Shi-King* or *The Book of Odes*. Trs. by L. Cranmer Byng. 1914. p. 25.

Thinking of thee,
We will rejoice
And be glad:
This will we say
And no more.[4]

All these prayers show a turning of man towards the divine for adoration and in supplication : there is evident a desire for a harmonious relation with God and for his aid. The moral appears in the wish for conformity with the divine will. Here the religious attitude dominates, and the moral is related with it. But in the following prayer, which comes from a Greek source, distinctly religious references to a transcendent personality are missing. The whole spirit of this pure aspiration is nevertheless in accord with that which is implied in the ethical implications of the former prayers. Here in statement the ethical is supreme : but the fundamental tone is religious. "May I be no man's enemy and may I be the friend of that which is eternal and abides. May I never quarrel with those nearest me, and if I do may I be reconciled quickly. May I never devise evil against any man; if any devise evil against me, may I escape uninjured and without the need of hurting him. May I love, seek, and attain happiness and envy none. May I never rejoice in the ill fortune of one who has wronged me. When I have done and said what is wrong may I never wait for the abuse of others, but always rebuke myself until I make amends,.....May I win no victory which harms me or my opponent.....May I reconcile friends who are wrath with one another. May I to the extent of my power give all needful help to my friends, and to all who are in want. May I never fail a friend in danger. When visiting those in grief, may I be able by gentle and healing words to soften their pain.....May I respect myself.....May I always

4. C. Markham : *The Incas of Peru*. p. 102.

keep tame that which rages within me. May I accustom myself to be gentle, and never angry with people because of circumstances. May I never discuss who is wicked, and what wicked things he has done, but know good men and follow in their footsteps. "[5] That remains almost entirely within the human, and reveals by its omissions something of the scepticism of higher Greek culture with regard to the gods. The weakening of this side of Greek religious life led to its decline before advancing Christianity.

The religion of ancient Greece was in the main joyous. But though it contained transcendental references the joy was found in devotion to the beauties and emotions associated with this life. For long the thought of its termination and the idea of another world produced only feelings of gloom. The influence of philosophic reflection on Greek religion was most important in its considerations of the nature of the human soul and in leading on to the conception of a spiritual immortality in an ideal in which the rational and the good were united. But Greek art had an equally marked effect on the religion, from which it itself drew its inspiration and many of its subjects. The Greek religion failed chiefly in its inability radically to overcome the opposition of the joys of life and the awaiting gloom. "The harmony established by the Greek religion was at the best but partial and incomplete. It was a harmony for life, but not for death. The more completely the Greek felt himself to be at home in the world, the more happily and freely he abandoned himself to the exercise of his powers, the more intensely and vividly he lived in action and passion, the more alien, bitter, and incomprehensible did he find the phenomena of age and death. On this problem so far as we can judge, he received from his

5. Cited by Stobaeus, from Eusebios, quoted by G. Murray *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, pp. 182-3.

religion but little light, and still less consolation. The music of his brief life closed with a discord unresolved; and even before reason had brought her criticism to bear upon his creed, its deficiency was forced upon him by his feeling."[6]

The best of Greek religious idealism became formulated and made an impressive appeal to the cultured in Neo-platonism; and from and through this has passed on its influence to some small extent through Judaism, but very markedly in Christianity and in Sufiism. Neo-platonism raised the vision definitely to the eternal and considered the temporal in relation with that. Notwithstanding the strain of asceticism, it found in the beautiful and the good on earth means by which to ascend to the highest vision. That vision was one of immediacy, distinctly mystical and ecstatic; and could be suggested best by the immediacies of aesthetic satisfaction. Thus as Plotinus puts it: "It remains to mount to the Good towards which every Soul aspires. If anyone has seen it, he knows what I say: he knows how beautiful it is. We must approach its presence stripped of all earthly encumbrances as the initiated enter the sanctuary naked. With what love we must yearn to see the source of all existence, of all life and thought! He who has not yet seen it desires it as the Good; he who has seen it admires it as the Beautiful. He is struck at once with amazement and pleasure; he is seized with a painless stupefaction, he loves with a true love and a mighty longing which laughs at other loves and disdains other beauties. If we could behold him who gives all beings their perfection, if we could rest in the contemplation of him and become like him, what other beauty could we need? Being the supreme beauty, he makes those who love him beautiful and lovable. This is the great end, the supreme aim, of Souls; it is

6. G. Lowes Dickinson: *The Greek View of Life*, p. 64

the want of this vision that makes men unhappy. He who desires to see the vision must shut his eyes to terrestial things, not allowing himself to run after corporeal beauties, lest he share the fate of Narcissus, and immerse his soul in deep and muddy pools, abhorred by the Spirit. And yet we may train ourselves by contemplating noble things here on earth, especially noble deeps, always pressing on to higher things, and remembering above all that as the eye could not behold the sun unless it were like the sun itself, so the Soul can only see beauty, by becoming beautiful itself."[7]

The ancient religion of Egypt, though it was mixed up with much that was of the nature of magic nevertheless included moral ideals of wide range and high character. These ideals had the sanction of religion especially in that upon their performance depended the experience of the individual in the "life hereafter" which constituted a central concept in Egyptian religion. It was at the time of the judgment of the individual before Osiris, that the following declaration was to be made. "Hail to thee, mighty god, lord of justice. I come to thee, my lord, to behold thy beauties; I know thee, I know the name of the forty-two gods who are with thee, who devour those who meditate evil, who drink their blood the day when a man gives account of himself before Unnofa. Behold me, I have come to thee, I bring the truth to thee, and I will put aside all lying." "I have not done evil to any man, I am not one of those who put to death his kindred; I am not one who telleth lies in place of truth.....I am not a doer of that which the gods abhor; I have not done wrong to a servant in the eyes of his master; I have not caused famine; I have not caused weeping; I am not a murderer, I have not given

7. W. R. Inge: *The Philosophy of Plotinus*, ii, pp. 212-3.

commands for murder; I have not caused men to suffer; I have not diminished the temple offerings; I have not lessened the bread given unto the gods; I have not robbed the dead of their funeral offerings; I am not an adulterer; I have not diminished the grain measure; I have not shortened the palm's length.....I have not pressed down the arm of the balance; I have not falsified the tongue (of the balance); I have not snatched away the milk from the mouth of children; and I have not driven off the cattle from their pastures." 'I am pure; I am pure.....Let no harm come to me in this land, in the Hall of Justice, because I know the name of all the gods who make their appearance in it."[8]

The appeal of Confucianism is principaliy and almost solely ethical. It is intimately related with the feelings of filial reverence and respect for the orderly continuance of society. Nevertheless it grew up out of a religious tradition and the spirit of this permeates the ethical ideal. Thus, in the Confucian doctrine of the mean may be seen an example in human life of the orderly way of the universe, of the heaven and the earth. But Confucianism does not suggest or call forth any aspiration for spiritual life unbounded by temporal and earthly limits, nor does it feel or treat seriously the problems of suffering or any experience of alienation from a transcendent reality which so often comes with wrong-doing. The absence of anything to offer in these directions has led the Confucian to supplement Confucianism with another faith as, for example by Buddhism in its Mahayana form, so that a man will frequently call himself Confucian and Buddhist. Confucius is reported to have said "All my knowledge is strung on one connecting thread." Again the "Master said 'Shen single priniciple runs through

8. cf. E. Naville: *The Old Egyptian Faith*, 1909. pp. 186-8; A. Wiedemann: op. cit. p. 51.

through all my teaching.' Tseng Tzu answered : 'Yes'–When the Master had gone out, the disciples asked, saying, 'What principle does he mean?' Tseng Tzu said: 'Our master's teaching simply amounts to this : loyalty to oneself and charity to one's neighbour."[9]

Taoism and Confucianism grew up from the same tradition and in a similar environment, and there is ultimately little difference between the principle of the former, which is in essence, "Follow nature" and the latter with its insistence on moderation and order. But Taoism seems to have lent itself to more metaphysical and mystical developments than Confucianism, and to have retained a closer connection with popular religious superstition associated with Shamanism.[10]

That which is in one term denoted as Hinduism is a vast complex in which emotional attitudes of most varied character are found, appearing again and again as though in violent contrast, if not in radical opposition. Yet a fundamental motive of Hindu religious thought and life has from the very outset been the attainment of unity In the Rig Veda there is, for example, a hymn or prayer for social unity, which, whatever its original occasion, it is against the genius of Hinduism to interpret in any limited way.

" Thou, mighty Agni, gatherest all that is precious for thy friend.
Bring us all treasures as thou art enkindled in libations' place.
Assemble, speak together: let your minds be all of one accord,
As ancient gods unanimous sit down to their appointed share.
The place is common, common the assembly, common the mind, so be their thought united.

9. *The Sayings of Confucius.* Trans. of part of the Confucian Analects, by L. Giles. 1910 pp. 91 and 113.

10. See especially E. H. Parker *Studies in Chinese Religion*; L. Giles : *Taoist Teachings.* 1912.

A common purpose do I lay before you and worship with your general oblation.

One and the same be your resolve, and be your minds of one accord.

United be the thought of all that all may happily agree.[11]

The social unity sought within and through the differentiation of castes has, however, not been an ideal for which enthusiasm has generally been shown. The intensity of caste feeling as such has militated against the realisation of wider social unity. But the reason for the weakness of the social in Hinduism is chiefly other : a more profound and a more comprehensive unity is sought. The social appears as temporary, as merely transitory and partial, but the religious mind has longed for experience of the universal and the eternal. Thus the spirit dominating wide currents of Hindu life is that of the Upanishadic passage.

" From the unreal (*asat*) lead me to the real (*sat*)
From darkness lead me to light,
From death lead me to immortality. "[12]

The same principle is embodied in the yearning for release from the bonds of *karma*, and so from the wearisome round of births and deaths. It is not that such bondage and these earthly lives involve suffering :-*karma* comes from good as well as bad acts and the earthly life includes pleasures-; but that this whole existence is ephemeral and limited. Until one can attain the experience of the unity of *atman* and *Brahman*, it has to be endured, and the ideal attitude to cultivate towards it is that of an equanimity of mind, carrying out the duties of the position in which one finds oneself, with the least disturbance of emotions, and with an effort to attain by contemplation the vision of the eternal. " Hateless towards all born beings, friendly

11. *Rig Veda* x. 191.
12. *Brihad-Aranyaka Upanishad* i. 3. 28.

and pitiful, void of the thought of a Mine and an I, bearing indifferently pain and pleasure, patient, ever content, the Man of the Rule subdued of spirit and steadfast of purpose, who has set his mind and understanding on Me and worships Me, is dear to Me." "Whatever be thy work, thine eating, thy sacrifice, thy gift, thy mortification, make thou of it an offering to Me."[13]

In accordance with the sentiment of this latter stanza it is maintained that religion permeates the whole life, and so again one is brought to the realm of appearances. For this is considered not merely as *maya* or delusion but also as *lila* or sport. So in the life of devotion, of *bhakti*, a joyousness is added to the ideal of contemplative calm of the intuition of reality. A personal tone is found in the actual religious life of Hindus which is fundamental, however much it has tended to be obscured by the advocates of particular philosophical contentions. The emotions and the attitude of the following hymn of the Maratha saint, Jnaneshwar, find an almost universal response amongst religious Hindus.

Who day and night are from are all passion free,
Within their holy hearts I love to be,
Dwelling in sanctity.

Hearts of a fervent faith to them belong,
Where Dharma reigns: in them that power is strong
That knows or right or wrong.

They bathe in Wisdom; then their hunger stay
With Perfectness—lo, all in green array,
The leaves of Peace are they.

Buds of attainment these; columns they are
In Valour's hall: of joy fetched from afar
Each a full water-jar.

13. *Bhagavad Gita*, trs. L. D. Barnett. xii. 13-14; ix. 27.

So dear the path of Bhakti, they despise
The great Release; e'en in their sport there lies
The Wisdom of the wise.

With pearls of Peace their limbs they beautify;
Within their minds as in a scabbard I,
The All-indweller lie.

Therefore their love waxes unceasingly,—
These great-souled ones; not the least rift can be
Between their hearts and me.[14]

"What constitutes the highest spiritual ambition of man?" asked a South Indian saint. "Possession of God. What does this imply? Absolute submission to him. What again does this imply? Doing to our Lord and Master eternal service as becometh a liege and servant to Him; as befitting the eternal tie subsisting between Him and His creatures."[15]

Hinduism is so comprehensive in the range of its sects, which emphasise one this, one that, side of life, that it is difficult, if at all possible to formulate principles generally representative. Thought, action, and feeling are accorded varying relative worths in the different sects. Hinduism, as a religion, is certainly not pessimistic : it does not find this life satisfying, but is itself the assurance of a higher life which is blessedness. "He who knows the bliss of Brahma fears not anything at all."[16]

The character of the ideal of Buddhism may be considered to be still in doubt. The canonical texts contain passages which seem clearly capable of interpretations

14. N. Macnicol: *Psalms of Maratha Saints*. Calcutta 1919. p. 35.

15. See: A. Govindacharya. *Divine Wisdom of Dravidian Saints* Madras 1902 p. 187.

16. *Taittiriya Upanishad*. ij. 9.

of *nirvana* either as negative or as positive.[17] The question is complicated in part by the fact of the mystical and universalist development of Buddhism in its Mahayana forms. The Hinayana, or Southern Buddhism of Ceylon and Burma, has kept more to what appears the original limitation of the teaching of the Buddha to obtaining redemption from the evils of life as experienced on earth, with no genuine concern for what might be beyond. The ideal is here that of calm and peace, an eradication of the turbulent desires of an individual "I". This is charmingly expressed in a little simile in one of the Psalms of the Sisters:

" One day, bathing my feet, I sit and watch
The water as it trickles down the slope,
Thereby I set my heart in steadfastness,
As one doth train a horse of noble breed.
Then going to my cell, I take my lamp,
And seated on my couch I watch the flame.
Grasping the pin, I pull the wick right down
Into the oil.....
Lo ! the Nibbana of the little lamp !
Emancipation dawns ! My heart is free !"[18]

There is no need to interpret this as meaning complete cessation: it may imply no more than peace in the extinction of the burning flame of selfish individuality. From this motive as from that of the eradication of suffering, Buddhism has within its ideal developed very lofty ethical principles. These are nowhere better expressed than in the Dhammapada.

17. *e.g.* The following description of Nirvana, while negative, is only the negation of evils, and does not imply that there is no resulting positive state. " When the fire of lust is extinct, that is Nirvana; when the fires of hatred and infatuation are extinct that is Nirvana; when pride, false belief, and all other passions and torments are extinct, that is Nirvana." See H. C. Warren. *Buddhism in Translations* p. 59. quoting introduction of the *Jataka*.

18. *Therigatha* Trs. Mrs. Rhys Davids. 114-116.

"Let a man overcome anger by love, let him overcome the greedy by liberality, the liar by truth!" "For hatred does not cease by hatred at any time; hatred ceases by love, this is an old rule." "Earnestness is the path of immortality (Nirvana), thoughtlessness the path of death. Those who are in earnest do not die, those who are thoughtless are as if dead already." "Let us live happily then, not hating those who hate us! among men who hate let us dwell free from hatred! Let us live happily then, free from ailments among the ailing! among men who are ailing let us dwell free from ailment! Let us live happily then, free from greed among the greedy! among men who are greedy let us dwell free from greed! Let us live happily then, though we call nothing our own! We shall be like bright gods feeding on happiness!"[19] So again the ethical is portrayed in the description of the good man:

"Whoso his mother and his father keeps,
The senior in his family reveres,
Converseth gently and with soft-toned speech,
And all that makes for slander puts aside,
Who sets himself all meanness to suppress,
A man of truth, his temper 'neath control:—
On such an one the Three and Thirty Gods
Do verily confer the name: Good Man."[20]

Buddhism did not remain at the level of the merely ethical even if it started there.[21] The Mahayana reveals a wealth of emotional attitudes of a religious character. It has

19. *Dhammapada*: S. B. E. trs. pp. 58; 4; 9; 53. Cf. also. *Amitayur Dhyana Sutra*. S. B. E. xlix. p. 167; *The Awakening of Faith*. Trs. D. T. Suzuki. p. 128. and *Maha-Parinibbana Suttanta*. Trs. W. Rhys Davids. in *Dialogues of the Buddha*. 1910 iii. p. 84.

20. *Sanyutta Nikaya*: trs. p. 294.

21. This is suggested, for example, in the following from the Chinese version of the Buddha Carita of Ashvaghosha. Trs. S. Beal. S.B.

A Dhyani Buddha, Java

known an intensity of devotion to the Buddha and to the deities, as for example, the goddess of mercy, and has developed a positive metaphysic as well as forms of mysticism. In addition it has sought to some, though a very limited, extent to realise a feeling of community through activities for social welfare. It is chiefly in these Mahayana forms that there is, in Oldenberg's words, an "internal cheerfulness, infinitely surpassing all mere resignation."[22] There is here a universal "principle", the fundamental reality, the "*Dharmakaya*" in relation with which *nirvana* has its true positive significance[23]. "Theoretically speaking, *Nirvana* is the dispersion of the clouds of ignorance hovering around the light of *Bodhi*. Morally, it is the suppression of egoism and the awakening of love (*Karuna*). Religiously, it is the absolute surrender of the self to the will of the *Dharmakaya*."[24]

E. xix. p. 337 : "Gone to that undying place (Amrita), those who believe (his law) shall follow him there; therefore let all the devas and men, without exception, worship and adore. The one great loving and compassionate who mastered thoroughly the highest truth, in order to deliver all that lives. Who that hears of him, but yearns with love!" H. Oldenberg : *Buddha* p. 213. says : "In Buddhism there was a tendency to a form of expression suggesting a more positive hope with regard to a continued life for the perfected saint. But this may be considered to be a mere accommodation of language for the less enlightened. The Sermon at Benares leaves the question open whether deliverance is an annihilation or a return to a real fundamental eternal self."

22. H. Oldenberg : *Buddha*. p. 224.

23. It is interesting to note the qualities which, in Mahayana Buddhism, are attributed to the *Dharmakaya* : "Without the will, love and intelligence will not be realised; without love, the will and intelligence will lose their impulse; without intelligence, love and the will will be irrational. In fact, the three are co-ordinates and constitute the oneness of the *Dharmakaya*." "I am the father of all beings, and they are my children." (The *Avatamsaka*, the *Pundarika*, etc). D. T. Suzuki : *Mahayana Buddhism*. p. 239.

24. D. T. Suzuki : *Mahayana Buddhism*. p. 369.

Jainism gives an inevitable impression of asceticism, not the deliberate infliction of suffering as self-torture but the denial of what appeals to the physical. The ideal life for the Jaina is that of one who has entered a religious order of monks or nuns. There is, of course, a Jain ideal for the householder, but that is only a stage on the way to the ideal of the ascetic. One might have thought that the ideal would be expressed in positive, and even universal terms. For as the lowest organism is one-sensed and the highest has the greatest number of senses, it would seem that these should not be eradicated or their use suppressed, but enjoyed. Otherwise the significance of regarding the organisms as higher, the greater the number of senses, is not clear. The ideal is sometimes expressed in positive terms, but they are almost always abstract general conceptions. "Right faith (or perception), right knowledge, and right conduct constitute the way to moksha." The perfected soul is without a body and is said to possess innumerable properties. The character of the description of these qualities may be seen from the following list of eight which are "specially noted." "(1) perfect faith; (2) perfect perception; (3) perfect knowledge; (4) quality of being neither light nor heavy; (5) infinite capacity for giving place (penetrability); (6) extreme refinement beyond sense-perception; (7) infinite power; (8) immunity from disturbance of all kinds." Such qualities do not make any clear emotional appeal, nor are they of the nature to inspire activity. The predominantly negative form of expression in Jainism is seen in the aim as the removal of *karmas*, liberation from bondage to matter. There appears to be a radical dualism in the distinction of *jiva* and *ajiva*, with no attempt to achieve any unification. *Ajiva* is not represented as even capable of being used for the purpose of the ideal life of

pure *jiva*. Matter seems to be completely divorced from the highest end. It is remarkable that Jains have produced in the Dilwara temples of Mount Abu some of the most beautiful sculpture in India or the world, and thus carved matter to the expression of beauty. Again, central for Jainism is *ahimsa*, which is a negative concept. "First and foremost is the avoidance of *Himsa*. *Himsa* in its wide significance, includes wishing evil or doing harm by word, thought, or action." The ideal is not set in terms of realising the unity of community, of love for others for the attainment of a spiritual harmony of souls. The relation of souls to one another is obscured by the devotion of attention to the attainment of pure spirituality by the individual *jiva*. The main thing with regard to other living beings is to avoid doing them harm, *ahimsa*. [25]

The central and dominating attitude in Zoroastrianism is the ethical. Life is essentially a conflict in which man should co-operate with God and the good spirits against the evil. Good thoughts, good words, good deeds, are their own reward, but they are also a part in the determination of the universal conflict. In the exercise of these man experiences happiness; the ideal is fundamentally joyous. The good is to be enjoyed in this world as well as in the life which follows it. But the good comes only with effort: life is to be an active pursuit of the good in all its forms. Yet Zoroastrianism is lacking in any serious recognition of the place and significance of suffering, and of the assumption of suffering as related with the regeneration of a man's own soul or with the redemption of others from evil. Nevertheless its ethical precepts are associated with religious emotion, leading to the ideal of a unity of all mankind

25. J. L. Jaini: *Outlines of Jainism*. pp. 130-1.; Muni Nyayavijaya: *Adhyatmattvaloka*, p. 328.

with God and the angels in the attitude of love. "The follower of the faith makes himself resplendent by the virtuous happiness of this world. He benefits the world and makes it prosperous by doing good public acts, by loving the innumerable peoples of the world and by being charitable to all alike." "Be it known that God has created the world for work.....and the Creator's work is to be done according to his wishes." "And this, too, (is) manifest that idleness should be swept out of the world, but it should be swept out in such a way that contentment may not diminish." "And this, too, (is) manifest that mournfulness should be done away with from the world, but it should be done away in such a way that love and sympathetic mercy towards mankind may not decrease." "Three things are exceedingly good in regard to the heavenly good spirits; and these are as follows: Love, and and veneration, and hope. These two principles are best: to be good oneself and to do good to others." "Love all; that should be wisdom for thee. Hold them for kindred; that should be conscience for thee. Unto them do good; that should be spirit for thee." "Be it known that God is intimately connected with the world and is kind to it as to his own born child..... God loves his creation and tries to keep it at a distance from His opponent and enemy (Ahriman)." Zoroastrianism refuses to reject the goods of this life, and so has opposed asceticism. Fasting, for example, is considered to weaken the body, and so to make it less serviceable in the effort for the good and the conflict with evil. The hope for the goods of this world and the next is somewhat strikingly expressed in a prayer ascribed to Zarathustra: "This I ask thee, tell me truly, Ahura,—whether I shall indeed, O Right, earn that reward, even ten mares with a stallion, and a camel, which was promised to me, O Mazdah, as well as through thee the future gift

of Welfare and Immortality." A daily prayer, given in the Dinkard, summarises the ideal of Zoroastrianism: "O thou, Lord Protector, in obedience to thy command I am firm in the pure religion and I promise to think and speak and do every righteousness. Forgive me Thou (my) many sins; (may) I keep my own conduct pure, and (may) I, in accordance with Thy wishes, righteous Lord, keeping uncontaminated the six powers of the soul,—work, speech, thought, reasoning, memory and intellect—(and) in order to obtain the riches of the next world through good thoughts, good words, and good deeds, worship Thee, that I may thus open (for myself) the path to the shining paradise: that is, that the heavy punishment of hell may not be inflicted upon me and I may, passing over the Chinvat bridge, reach into the fragrant, all-adorned and eternally happy mansions of paradise. Praise be to the Lord of gifts, who bestows upon those who obey his commandments the reward of righteous wishes and who will at the end liberate transgressors from hell and adorn the world with purity."[26]

The religion of the Jews has many features similar to Zoroastrianism. Its ideal is the love of God and the the love of man. The strong ethical traits of righteousness and justice are related with the conception of a righteous God. "Let judgment run down as waters and righteousness as a mighty stream." Life is to be continued beyond the condition of earthly existence. But the religion of the Jews gives more significance than Zoroastrianism to the place of suffering in human life and man's relations with God. The Jewish race has not merely passed through suffering, but has come to regard these sufferings as a

26. *Dinkard.* Trs. Sanjana. vii. 482; 495; xii 47; xi 28; xiii. 3; vii. 441; *Yacna* xliv. 18; *Dinkard* 104 Cf. iv. 197. vi. 398. and xii. 41-4 and vi. 436-8. with the contrast of the ten precepts of the philanthrophic Jamshid and the ten precepts of the evil Hebrew Zohak.

divine means towards the perfection of the race and its preparation to bring spiritual light to mankind. Judaism is an optimism gained through the experience of pain. Its fundamental emotional attitude is an ethical idealism together with a confident trust in God. The Jew enjoys the goods of this life as divinely given and so far he is as little ascetic as the Zoroastrian; but he has learned to look upon suffering as also serving a divine purpose. Nevertheless, the tone of the religion is joyous: "Serve the Lord with gladness: come before his presence with a song." In its highest expression Judaism is an intense yearning of the soul for communion and conformity with the living God. "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God. My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God." "Do his will as if it were thy will," said a Jewish Rabbi "that He may do thy will, as if it were his will. Annul thy will before his will, that He may annul the will of others before thy will" "Be as bold as a leopard", said another "and swift as an eagle and fleet as a hart and strong as a lion to do the will of thy father which is in heaven." Judaism has sometimes been represented as merely national. It is fundamentally religion which has united Jews, but their nationalist aims have had as inspiration the promise: " "Through thee shall all the nations of the earth be blessed [27]

Attempts have been made (in modern Japan) to represent Shintoism as a form of national ritual and mythology. But Shintoism seems to have been predominantly a

27. Leviticus xix. 18; Deuteronomy vi 5; Amos v. 24; Psalm c. 2; xlii 1, 2; C. Taylor: *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*. 1896. pp. 43; 109; Genesis xxxi. 4. There are a few signs of asceticism amongst the Jews. For example, the Rechabites and the Nazirites appear to have abstained from wine. The prophet Elijah and John the Baptist seem to have lived as ascetics. The order of the Essenes may have been monastic, as also "the company of prophets" whom Saul met. I. Samuel. x. 10.

Nature-worship, with some slight admixture of hero-worship. It is difficult to discover its ideal, though it may in some respects resemble Taoism. The scholar Motoori in the eighteenth century said: "Morals were invented by the Chinese because they were an immoral people, but in Japan there was no necessity for any system of morals, as every Japanese acted rightly if he only consulted his own heart."[28]

Christianity, as every great religion, has its roots in the religions before it and the cultures of the time of its gestation and birth; and in the course of its history it has absorbed into itself contributions from many varied sources. Viewed as a world fact it is a mighty complex only to be compared with Buddhism. But notwithstanding that which has come from elsewhere, the common belief is substantially correct, that, through all, the teaching of the gospels concerning Jesus has been striving to express itself. The gospels are an epitome of the central concepts and an indication of the fundamental spirit of Christianity. They more than all else have formed the source for *information* as to the Christian ideal, even though the appreciation of that ideal is obtained by an intuitive apprehension of it in personal contact with those whose lives are in some considerable degree inspired by it.

The ideal of Christianity points beyond the individual self, Nature, and the community. Its emotional attitude is pre-eminently one in relation to the Godhead, who transcends all these, while yet intimately concerned with all. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God:.....this is the first and great commandment". "Are not five sparrows sold for a farthing, and not one of them is forgotten before God? But even the very hairs of your head are numbered. Fear not therefore". This predominant relation of men to God

28. D. Murray: *Japan*. 1894. p. 84; see also E. M. Satow *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, ii. p. 135.

gives experience a significance beyond the limits of the physical world and the period of existence in it. Life is associated fundamentally with the eternal. Christianity also presents itself as the ideal for the satisfaction of the striving for unity in community. God is Father and King. The ideal includes the intimate closeness of kinship, and the comprehensiveness of a universal kingdom. The Christian effort is a striving for a communion of saints, a kingdom of God. The second commandment is like unto the first: "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself" The character of this love of God and of man, as it is seen illustrated in the life of Jesus, is full of confident trust, yet withal tender and passionate. The emotions of joy and of sorrow are alike hallowed by it and given full play. "There is an element of passion in Christlike holiness, which differentiates it from philosophic conceptions of virtue as a tranquil, balanced state. Love gives worth to the fulfilment of duty; embraces, in union with God, the Divine aim of creation, and manifests itself in spontaneity and inventive activity, transforming the fulfilment of obligation into an occasion of joyous and delightful service. Our Lord represents this ardent, passionate, devoted state of heart as the real root of virtue. Without it the most punctilious obedience is nothing; for not to love is not to live."[29]

The Christian ideal is in the first place cosmic or theological, that is, its scope goes beyond the immediacies of sense and society, and is universal in its range. Secondly, it is social: it aims at the perfection of a spiritual society. It started in social form, and has continued so in the Christian Church. "The idea of a new spiritual society, which was potentially world-wide, united by a

29. Matthew xxii. 37, 39; Luke xii. 6, 7; R. L. Ottley: in *Lux Mundi*, Essay xii.

common faith and worship, and pledged to definite moral standards of life, enjoying a real spiritual communion with Christ himself, permeated and sustained by the Holy Spirit and his various gifts of grace, is implied from the first." The Church, as the religious community, has the task of realising in and through all its diversities and above all its oppositions the fundamental social unity. Finally, the ideal is personal and individual. For the individual, Christianity sets an ideal which includes all that the impulse to realise completely the unity of the self demands. "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father in heaven is perfect". The hope to attain this is based both on the faith in a continuity of life and opportunity, and on the experience of divine grace and the reality of regeneration. No evil is irreparable: the future is always open to the penitent.[30]

No religion teaches the acceptance of suffering as Christianity does, that through it love and perfection may be striven for. Nevertheless, even because of this attitude the Christian ideal is one of triumphant joy and blessedness. It seeks the satisfaction of the physical as well as the spiritual. So it is expressed through the simple prayer which has become enshrined in the hearts of millions: "Our father, which art in heaven; hallowed be Thy Name; Thy Kingdom come; Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven; Give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us. Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory for ever and ever. Amen."[31]

Islam is essentially the religion of submission to God and resignation to his will. It emphasises the greatness of God and the insignificance of man, but leads to

30. J. F. Bethune Baker; op cit. p. 356; Matthew v. 48.
31. Matthew vi. 9-13.

peace in abandonment to his mercy and compassion. The fundamental emotional attitude of orthodox Islam is that of a quiet confident faith in God and a performance of the duties life brings and an adherence to the moral precepts of the Quran. The Prophet made no call to men to reject the goods of the world—though this life is not all, it is not to be despised but enjoyed. Nevertheless God alone should be the centre of devotion, dominating all thought and guiding all action. What the action is to be, as whether war or peace, the Muslim must submit himself to the belief that God himself decides according to the occasion. Mankind are to seek the true peace which comes through entire submission to him. " It is not righteousness that you turn your faces towards the East and the West, but righteousness is this, that one should believe in Allah and the last day and the angels and the book and the prophets and give away wealth out of love for him to the near of kin and the orphans and the needy and the wayfarer and the beggars and for the emancipation of captives, and keep up prayer and pay the poor rate; and the performers of their promise when they make a promise, and the patient in distress and affliction and in time of conflict—these are they who are true to themselves and these are they who guard against evil. "[32]

The Sikh religion is a simple faith of the love of the God. By comparison with this dominating devotion all else is almost insignificant. This love while it includes an emotional attitude of submission to God brings also a distinct joyousness. " He who banisheth worldly love shall dance day and night in God's house and never sleep." "He who is dyed with God's love singeth His praises night and day and is invited to His palace. " " To serve God is to love Him, if pious men reflect on it. " " Until one love the Lord all

32. *Quran* II. 177.

other love is unstable." The joyousness of the Sikh includes the enjoyment of what God gives in this world: the forced asceticism of the yogi arouses in him no admiring response. Here is the strength of dependence on God and as result not mere peace, but an ecstasy of the happiness of the lover beloved. Such an experience can tolerate little of the formalism of ceremonial ritual, but it leads to an eradication of evil and the cultivation of good feelings to others. Thus the Sikh religion has taught a very lofty moral code, which will recognise no artificial distinctions of men, such as are implied in the ordinary Hindu caste attitudes, but respects righteousness unsullied by pride. The circumstances of the time of the later Gurus led the Sikhs to develop their original martial qualities, and their fighting was largely inspired by their religious loyalty and devotion. But the blending of the religious with the martial was not a feature of the early faith.[33]

Religion from the earliest to the latest known stages of its development reveals a desire for a condition of existence, an experience more satisfying than life normally seems to give. Religion has presented itself as the way of attainment of such a condition. But in the course of its history an opposition has arisen in this that the ideal aimed at has seemed on the one hand to necessitate the rejection and on the other the acceptance of the goods of life as normally experienced. Adherence to the former principle is seen in widespread ascetic and monastic movements. For devotion to the spiritual it has been deemed necessary to reduce attention to the physical as much as possible. The solitary hermit has supposed that even contact with mankind takes one's thought from God and endangers the salvation of the soul or the attainment of *moksha* or *nirvana*. The monk and the

33. M. A. Macauliffe: *The Sikh Religion*. ii. 199; 174, 155; 162; cf. iv. 264.

nun have found spiritual support in their membership of orders devoted to religious ends.[34] For all, the transitory character and the brevity of this life make its appeals insignificant compared with the call of the eternal. For all, abstinence from the sexual, and from eating and drinking for pleasure, is a precept.

There are some religions is which such abandonment of participation in the affairs of ordinary human life is not approved, is discouraged, even virtually forbidden. So it is for example, with Zoroastrianism, with Judaism, and the religion of the Sikhs. All of these have a bouyant hope and a joy in this life, although they also point beyond. There is an interesting legend that Zarathustra laughed at his birth, and it is recorded that the voice uttered by Nanak at birth was "as the laughing voice of a wise man joining a social gathering".[35] The optimistic spirit of the Jew towards this world has expressed itself in the picture of a millenium on earth centred in a glorious rule in a new Jerusalem.

On the other hand there are religions for which the emphasis is predominantly on the abandonment of the affairs of the world, a freedom from the fetters of the senses. Such are especially Buddhism and Jainism. Both

34. In the *Sutta Nipata*. Eng. trs. S. B. E. x. p. 11 it is said: "Let one wander alone like a rhinoceros", but in the *Sanyutta Nikaya*. Trs. Mrs. Rhys Davids, p. 113 it is urged that "Verily the whole of this life in religion consists in righteous friendship, righteous intimacy, righteous association." Cf. *Theragatha* 213 "Friendship with noble souls throughout the world, the Sage hath praised".

35. This is according to the midwife attendant at Nanak's birth: Macauliffe i. p. 1. Mr. Okakura mentions an interesting fact from Japan. "At the festival of Nifu Myojin, in Kii. when the procession bearing offerings arrives before the shrine, the village chief calls out in a loud voice: 'According to our annual custom, let us laugh'; to which a hearty response is given." *Life and Thought of Japan*. p. 51.

have accommodated themselves to some extent to the laity, but the path they advocate is that of the ascetic, the monk and the nun.[36] The fundamental motive here is individual liberation, the individual's attainment of *moksha* or *nirvana*. Undoubtedly there have been instances of good social influences exerted by Jain and Buddhist orders but social welfare—the improvement for others of the type of life the ascetics have themselves renounced—is not and never has been a definite aim. The highest, almost the sole positive duty to others is to teach them the path to redemption from the world.

In Hinduism also the way of the ascetic is considered to be of greater merit than ordinary modes of life and more fruitful in results in the effort to attain full consciousness of the unity of *atman* and *Brahman* or in gaining a better position in the scale of humanity in the following birth. But in theory, although by a long way not in practice, every Hindu male is to give himself up to asceticism and complete devotion to God, as his condition of life after having fulfilled the duties of householder.

Other religions, especially Christianity and Islam, while not setting up an ascetic or monastic ideal have found room for ascetic and monastic movements. Both of these religions have acknowledged fasting as wholesome discipline; Islam having made it a definite practice for all who can endure it. But separation from the affairs of earthly life is in no way implied by Christianity or Islam. The ascetic and monastic orders of Islam have been chiefly of two kinds, inspired with the missionary spirit of carrying the faith or entranced with devotion to God in mystic love, the former various brotherhoods and the latter orders of Sufis.

36. In Siam every Siamese male is expected to enter a monastery and spend some time there, at least as a novice. See P. A. Thompson: *Lotus Land*. 1906. p. 60.

The general attitude of Christianity towards asceticism is indicated in sayings ascribed to Jesus himself.[37] In reply to some of his critics, he once said : " For John came neither eating nor drinking, and they say : He hath a devil. The Son of Man came eating and drinking and they say : Behold a man gluttonous and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners. " Yet he knew and practiced an asceticism : " The foxes have holes, the birds have their nests, but the Son of Man hath not where to lay his head. " In a parable he told of the man who sold all he had to buy a field which contained a treasure of great price. His fundamental attitude is nevertheless expressed best in the words which denote the point of view from which the goods of this world should be considered : " Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness and all these shall be added unto you ". Monasticism in Christianity has had very wide and varied developments. Undoubtedly the life of the monk and the nun has been followed by many chiefly for their own peace of mind and religious attainment. But compared with the monasticism of other religions, Christian monasticism has been marked by its social aims and by a greater activism. The orders have pursued not only the task of education and the advancement of knowledge, but at the time of their flourishing included those who brought help to the sick and assisted not simply in daily tasks such as the cultivation of the land but also exerted their influence in political life. Asceticism in Christianity is advocated chiefly if and when it may serve some purpose from the motive of the love of man. In the epistles of St. Paul, in a somewhat exaggerated degree, it is advocated also as a means of discipline and the control of sensual passions.[38]

37. Luke viii. 33, 34. Matthew viii. 20 ; xiii. 44 ; vi. 33.

38. The subject of the character and history of the forms

The religious, whether they have followed an ascetic and monastic life or not, have experienced their highest religious satisfaction in a mystic immediacy. For all, for each, in some degree religion is ultimately mystical. Some of the more ardent have endeavoured to cultivate this sense of immediacy of religious satisfaction by various means of concentration and contemplation or by ideas leading to a state of ecstasy. In such mystic experiences all feeling of conflict, of opposition, is lost: there is an unsullied unity. It may be said that here one is concerned with a condition, or conditions of mind, which is or are inexpressible in any merely theoretical terms. Nevertheless, many of those definitely called mystics, who have devoted themselves especially to the cultivation of mystic states, have endeavoured to give them verbal expression or have been roused to more or less ecstatic utterances. But these expressions and utterances have always been coloured predominantly by the conceptions current in the religious communities in which the mystics have found themselves. The mystic unity has thus been represented either as an identity of the soul with the object of its contemplation or as a communion of the adoring with the adored, the loving with the loved. There has often been a tendency for these two types of expression to be blended together in the language of the mystics. Frequently the mystics have considered the temporal as of no significance from the point of view of the eternal. This has not always been so, for, in fact, the mysticism which is expressed as a communion has tended

---

of monasticism is vast. For an account of Buddhist forms see R. Spence Hardy: *Eastern Monachism*, 1860. H. B. Workman: *The Evolution of the Monastic Ideal*, 1913, gives a good account of the chief early Christian movements. A. Harnack: *Monasticism* 1913 endeavours from his Protestant standpoint to appreciate the spirit of Christian monasticism which has been almost, but not entirely, a feature of Catholic communities and the Eastern Churches.

to raise the whole content of life into its scope. Thus on the one side, mysticism has tended to an intellectual representation as undifferentiated unity and a practice as contemplative and intensive; and on the other a description as a communion of souls and a practice as emotional love seeking the most extensive sphere for its exercise.

The mystical character of religion is related with the psychological impression of unity. The impression which is received from Nature in what has been called Simple Nature Worship is of an immediate and mystical type. Nature is experienced synoptically and so as a unity. For many mystics Nature has been the starting-point and the end of their mystic state: affected by its beauty and sublimity they have felt as though blended in harmony with it. Here mere physical continuity plays its part in promoting the feeling of unity. The experience of all as one has brought an intense satisfaction in a sort of beatific vision. But besides a synoptic unity of Nature with its mystic impression there is an equally mystic feeling of the self within. In the moments of intensest satisfaction with Nature all explicit consciousness of a "within" and a "without" is lost. Starting from such impressions of Nature and Self, felt as one, thought has tended to pass too rapidly to abstract notions of unity, to the idea of the persistence of the unity so felt, to the neglect of the differentiated and changing content of Nature and the life of the Self. It is thus that one of the two main tendencies of mysticism has arisen. So, for example, Indian mysticism has its first and most characteristic expression in the Upanishads, which arising out of the Rig Vedic impressions of Nature and the unity felt with it, and developing their own consideration of the self, represent the highest experience predominantly as undifferentiated unity, as the identity of the reality of the "within" and the "without." All expressions of mysticism which have grown up

in relation with these or similar philosophical movements have been of like character. Having arisen primarily in association of self and Nature, they are essentially, almost irredeemably, individualistic. " A devotee should constantly devote his self to abstraction, remaining in a secret place, alone, with his mind and self restrained, without expectations and without belongings. ... Constantly devoting his self to abstraction, a devotee whose mind is restrained attains that tranquillity which culminates in final emancipation and assimilation with me. "[39]

Buddhistic mysticism is closely akin with the Hindu forms. It is essentially cultivated through contemplation aiming at the state of trance, or *samadhi*. In the Mahayana the mystic state is represented as though the condition in which a universal reality mirrors itself. " When a mirror is covered with dust, it cannot reflect images. It can do so only when it is free from stain. It is even the same with all beings. If their minds are not clear of stain, the Dharmakaya cannot reveal itself in them. But if they be freed from stain, then it will reveal itself. "[40]

Greek mysticism was also largely affected by philosophical reflection, but the love of the beautiful and the appeal of the social prevented it from being represented as a simple unity of identity. It highest reaches in Neo-platonism have been illustrated above from Plotinus. In the following, from Marcus Aurelius, the Greek influence is seen:[41] here is an expression of blissful harmony with nature, and also a transition of thought to the social idea of the *city* of God, and yet with a feeling of the unity of both. " Everything is harmonious to me that is harmonious to thee, O Universe; nothing is too early or too late for me that is in due time for thee. Everything is fruit to me that thy seasons

39. *Bhagavad Gita* vi. 10–15
40. *The Awakening of Faith*. Trs. D. T. Suzuki. p. 127
41. C. H. Moore: *The Religious Thought of the Greeks* p. 253

bring, O Nature; from thee are all things, in thee are all things, to thee all things return. 'Beloved city of Cecrops' sings the poet: Shall I not say, 'O beloved city of God'?"

Incidentally it may be noticed that the sense of the mystical in Zoroastrianism is extremely weak. There is, inevitably, something mystical in its communion of the soul with God, but the tone of its scriptures is not that of a mystic joy in Nature, or of a mystic satisfaction in community, or of a beatific vision of the kingdom of the good.[42]

The language of the mystics has often been in terms of the lover and the beloved. Although even in the majority of instances it may have been that the mystics concerned were celebate, they probably in some not very explicit manner felt the impulses of sex. There is good reason to believe that the intensest satisfaction of sex is largely due to mental fantasy and idealism. Such satisfaction is of the character of the experience of unity. The relation of lover and beloved in sex is distinctly mystical. There may be a profound cause for the tendency of mystics to express themselves in such terms. Marriage may be a religious sacrament through which an experience of mystic unity is in some measure attained. It is especially in Christianity and in Islam that most use has been made of erotic terms in expressions of mysticism, though it is also found in the poetic utterances of the Sikhs and of the Hindu Vaishnavite saints. The examples in Christianity have been to some degree exceptional, and then, also, somewhat abnormal. It is in Sufiism that this form of expression has attained a richness and a charm unsurpassed. Further, in Sufi utterances there is also very often profound philosophical thought and an association with the beautiful, features which may

42. For an account of some exotic movements in which the mystical has been stressed, see M. N. Dhalla *Zoroastrian Theology*, ch. xxxvi.

have been due to influence from Neo-platonism. Thus, though the language is of love, the thoughts are directed to the eternal. The Sufi mystics, similar in many respects to the Neo-platonic, saw in the beautiful in this world the revelation of the divine beauty.

> This is Love: to fly heavenward,
> To rend, every instant, a hundred veils;
> The first moment to renounce life;
> The last step, to fare without feet;
> To regard this world as invisible,
> Not to see what appears to one's self."[43]

* * *

"From all eternity the Beloved unveiled His beauty in the solitude of the unseen;
He held up the mirror to His own face, He displayed His loveliness to Himself.
He was both the spectator and the spectacle; no eye but His had surveyed the Universe.
All was one, there was no duality, no pretence of 'mine' or 'thine.'
The vast orb of Heaven, with its myriad incomings and outgoings was concealed in a single point.
The creation lay cradled in the sleep of non-existence, like a child ere it has breathed.
The eye of the Beloved, seeing what was not, regarded nonentity as existent.
Although He beheld His attributes and qualities as a perfect whole in His own essence,
Yet He desired that they should be displayed to Him in another mirror,
And that each one of His eternal attributes should become manifest accordingly in a diverse form.

43. R. A. Nicholson: *The Mystics of Islam.* 1914. p. 116,

Therefore He created the verdant fields of Time and Space
and the life-giving garden of the world.
That every branch and leaf and fruit might show forth His
various perfections.
The cypress gave a hint of His comely stature, the rose
gave tidings of His beauteous countenance.
Wherever beauty peeped out, Love appeared beside it;
Wherever Beauty shone in a rosy cheek, Love lit his torch
from that flame.
Wherever Beauty dwelt in dark tresses, Love came and
found a heart entangled in their coils.[44]

The use of the terms of love among Christian mystics has generally been in reference to a form of ideal relation similar to that of son and father, or brethren of the same family, which may—and according to Christian principle should,—be felt towards all mankind. Christian mysticism by the very nature of this love has sought channels for active expression within the community of the Christian Church and beyond. The great mystics of Christianity have been those of the Catholic communities. Thomas a Kempis in his *Imitation of Christ* has given us the following description of love as understood and felt by the Christian mystic. "The noble love of Jesus impels to great deeds : and arouses a constant desire for greater perfection. Love longs to soar : and will not be held down by things that are low. Love longs to be free, and estranged from all worldly affection : that its inner eye may not be dimmed ; that it may not be caught by any temporal prosperity : or by any adversity cast down. Nothing is sweeter than Love ; nothing braver, nothing higher, nothing wider : nothing sweeter, nothing fuller, nor better in Heaven and in earth ; because Love is born of God : and can only rest in God above all created things.

44. ibid. p. 80; quoting Jami.

The lover flies, runs and rejoices: he is free and cannot be held. He gives all: and has all in all; because he rests in One Highest above all things: from whom all good flows and proceeds. He regards not the gifts: but turns himself above all goods to the Giver. Love often knows no measure: but is fervent beyond all measure. Love feels no burden: counts no pains, exerts itself beyond its strength; talks not of impossibility: for it thinks all things possible and all permitted. It is therefore strong enough for all things; and it fufils many things and warrants them to take effect: where he who loves not faints and lies down.

Love is watchful and, sleeping, slumbers not; though weary it is not tired, though hampered is not hampered, though alarmed is not affrighted: but as a lively flame and burning torch it forces its way upwards and serenely passes through. If any man love he knows what is the cry of this voice. A loud cry in the ears of God: is the glowing affection of a soul, which saith. My God my Love: Thou art all mine, and I am all Thine."[45]

From these varied constituents of life, from the immediacies of the impressions of Nature, from the felt inner unity of the self, from the results of contemplation and reflection, from the mystic union of sex, from the devotion to an ideal personality, from the experience of community in social groups, the forms of mysticism have arisen. They lean either to the side of seeking from the feeling of Nature and the self, or from reflection, an immediate and quietist fruition; or taking up the call of active life endeavour through work and worship, through individual contemplation and social affection to realise a social community as a factor in the unity of the All.

Though the religious experience is in itself mystical,

45. *The Imitation of Christ.* Trs. C. Bigg. iv. 5.

the mystics properly so-called constitute a very small portion of mankind. There is, however, a characteristic of religion, especially of the higher religions, which is shared by the majority of the religious: the idealisation of and the devotion to a person or persons, generally the founder. Towards such not merely is reverence shown but love is cultivated. At times faith has applied the concept of divinity to the person who thus inspires profound religious feelings. There has developed as a definite factor of historical religion a devotion to an actual or even supposed historical person, however that person may also be otherwise thought of. In spite of the intellectual convictions of *advaitist* Vedantists in Hinduism, it seems impossible to minimise the part that Krishna or Ram play in arousing devotion in actual religion. Confucius inspires a distinctly personal attitude of filial reverence. The Buddha is the first mentioned of the three jewels of the faith, and through the ages has truly engendered a personal devotion for which love is the only adequate term. The Zoroastrian has idealised Zarathustra and lavished upon him of the best in thought and feeling that men may accord to the leader of their faith. So it has been with Abraham and Moses among the Jews. In Christianity the passionate love of Jesus has become the central impulse. Muslims not only include the name of the Prophet in their fundamental profession of faith: "There is no God but God; and Mahommed is the Prophet of God", but they also look on him as having been a living expression of the principle of the religion and have realised an affection for him as so depicted. Similarly the Sikh Gurus have been considered as the embodiment of one and the same spirit, the place of which in the cult is now represented by the *Granth Saheb* itself.[46]

46. On Zarathustra consult A. V. Williams Jackson: *Zoroaster: The Prophet of Iran*. New York 1901; on Gautama Buddha, H. Oldenberg: *Buddha*. 1904; on Parsvanatha: M. Bloomfield; *The Life and*

There is another characteristic of religion as a historical fact which is felt by the very great majority of the religious as distinct from a very limited number of instances of mystics who have professed an experience of a unity of identity of self and God. Religion both in its emotions, as in the practices which express and cultivate them is social. Not only were its earliest manifestations tribal, but its development has also been in the form of communities. The unity sought, and in part felt, is social. An expression of a desire for social unity has been seen in the hymn already quoted from the Rig-Veda. Again the *Sangha* or Order is one of the jewels of Buddhism, and many expressions in the Buddhist scriptures suggest some recognition of the importance of the experience of social unity. Early Buddhism like the Hinduism in the environment of which it sprung up is ultimately individualistic. In Mahayana Buddhism the aim of the salvation of all living beings inspires a type of social sentiment: nevertheless there does not appear to be a genuine recognition that social unity is something distinctive. The seeking of the experience of social unity is not strong in Jainism. Confucianism in its reverence for the family and the race has recognised in its own particular manner the importance of the social for religious satisfaction. The followers of Zarathustra, both in their ethical aims and in their forms of religious worship, have cultivated the sense of community. The Jews have always conceived of their

---

Stories of the Jaina Saviour Parsvanath. Baltimore 1919. Lives of Jesus are legion. For the most modern ones references to these may be found in the general surveys, such as H. Weinel and A. G. Widgery: *Jesus in the xixth Century and After.* Edin. 1914. and A. Schweitzer; *The Quest of the Historical Jesus.* 1911. See also on more orthodox lines e. g. F. W. Farrar: *The Life of Christ.* 1874. On Mohammed consult: D. Margoliouth: *Mohammed.* 1906. The lives of the Sikh Gurus are given in Macauliffe: *The Sikh Religion.*

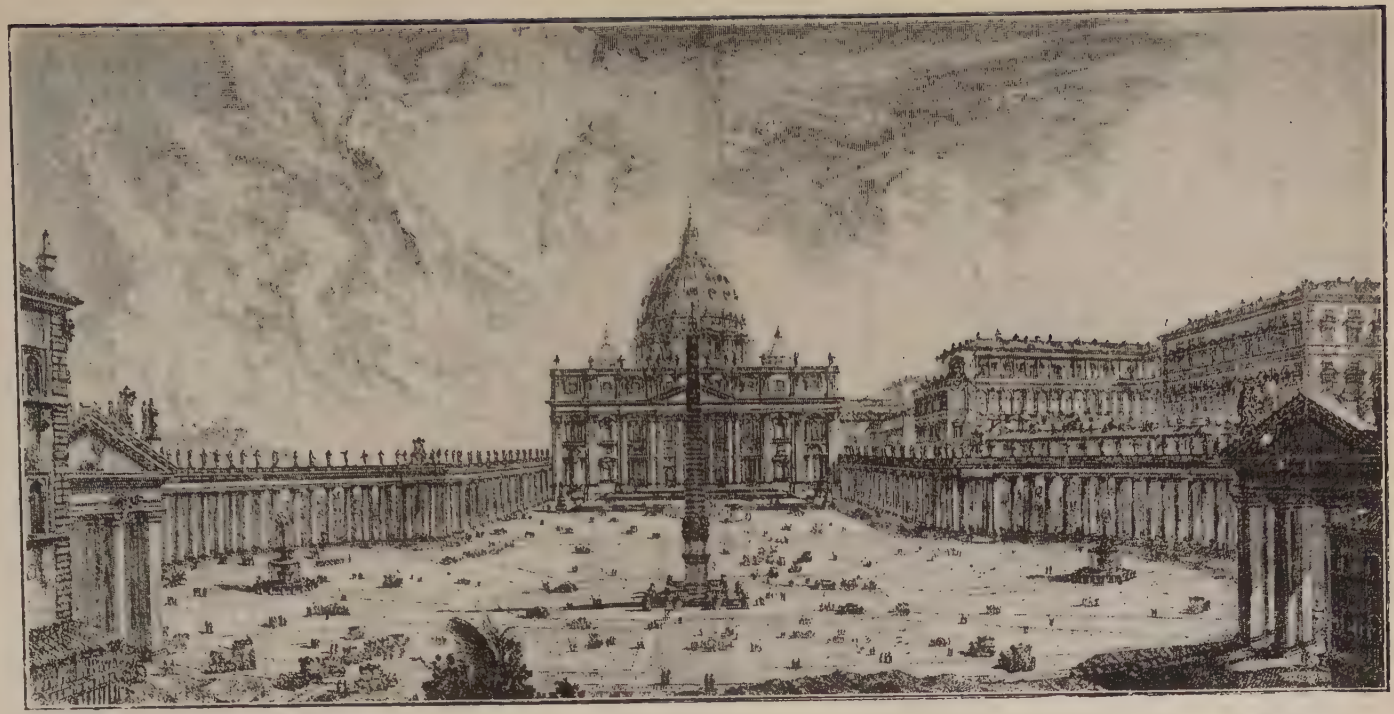
religion socially: their *race* they have regarded as a chosen people of God, and they look forward to a glorious kingdom. Islam has emphasised the importance of the community of the faithful, and in the communal prayers engenders an experience of religious unity. The Sikhs also formed themselves into a definite body, the *Khalsa*, in which all might feel and act in unison. But it is Christianity more than all other religions which has sought to realise unity through the social: it is Christianity which has taught that individual bliss can be attained in its highest form only in and with society. "Seek ye *first* the *kingdom* of God." From the commencement entrance into the community was essential. The Christian Church is the endeavour in an actual community to realise the mystic experience of unity as it may be had through the social.

The social ideal of Christianity is also manifested in its missionary spirit and efforts. From its inauguration Christianity has been a missionary religion, following the command of Christ to his disciples to preach the gospel in all the world. For centuries Buddhism was a powerful missionary religion, as Islam has been and is. The missionary spirit is one expression of the desire for unity. But mankind looks for a unity which shall embody all that is good from whatever source. "It is the goal of religion to inspire one faith." says Dr. Carpenter, "But we may expect that this will rather be attained by the slow approximation of ethical and spiritual aims, than by the direct extension of any single creed."[47]

The Nature and Development of Religion

The comparative study of religions shows that while it is impossible to give any simple definition of religion

47. J. E. Carpenter *The place of Christianity among the Religions of the world.*



St Peter's, Rome

owing to the variety and complexity of its contents, part intellectual, part emotional, and part volitional, it is a distinctive constituent of human experience. Though its forms have changed in the course of history and though different peoples and times have emphasised diverse aspects of it, religion has throughout a consistent character which has striven to find an ever more adequate account of itself. On the side of thought the religions have pointed beyond the limited range of the physical world, and have tried to reach a conception of life and the world which appeals to an inner reason and satisfies it. On the side of feeling religion has also striven for an eradication or transcendence of the elements of pain which life shows and for an experience of unalloyed happiness and bliss. Further, religion has directed itself to an unimpeded activity of will which man has realised as possible only when all forces are tending to a moral and consistent end. Religion has thus at all stages been in presence of incongruity and conflict, but it has borne within itself the promise, if not a mystic gift of present experience, of the highest conceived good. Thus religion is inspired with the effort for unity, but is also a faith in its ultimate attainment. The extent to which the unity has been apprehended in a particular religion constitutes the stage it has reached in religious development. But the nature of the unity to be attained is not immediately and fully known at the outset: though there is some impulse towards and some impression of it from the beginning, its conception, as its full attainment and enjoyment, is subject to development. Religion shows regard for the physical and the efforts to obtain satisfaction with respect to it. Religion is social and seeks the highest experience of community. But thought and feeling have in religion the sense of relation with a Reality beyond the physical and the social,—a Reality which impresses man both with an authority as dominating the world and

his life, and in his receptive moods as drawing him with the call of love.

Throughout its history, though religion has been related with a sense of dissatisfaction with conditions in this life, it has nevertheless sought for welfare in this life. The desire for happiness and joy in the affairs of the world is a genuine sentiment which religion has not regarded as unworthy. Nevertheless, all religions have tended to recognise the inadequacy of this life to human demands and all the higher religions have given it a subordinate place in the scheme of the universe. Individuals, in hope of a higher bliss have voluntarily renounced the "world." And those who cling to it have seemed to find its joys taken one by one, until finally, with death, all earthly happiness appears to cease. Religion views that with faith and hope, as permitted by or indeed the action of the divine Reality, leading man to a higher stage in which the lost is found:

"All which I took from thee I did but take,
Not for thy harms,
But just that thou might'st seek it in My arms.
All which thy child's mistake
Fancies as lost, I have stored for thee at home:
Rise, clasp My hand, and come."
Halts by me that footfall;
Is my gloom, after all,
Shade of His hand, outstretched caressingly?
"Ah, fondest, blindest, weakest,
I am He Whom thou seekest!
Thou dravest love from thee, who dravest Me."[48]

---

48. Francis Thompson: *The Hound of Heaven*. Final stanza.

APPENDIX A.

i. *Magic*

The subject of Magic has often occupied much attention in books on early religions. Magic appears, nevertheless, to be of distinct and even antagonistic nature to religion. For the essential in magic is that the result is supposed to be achieved by the power of the acts or words of the magician. In religion the result is thought to be produced by the divine power, or by its aid. The forms which magic has taken are very varied, but they are all ultimately the same in principle. To some extent the practices of magic tend to individualism and to the gaining of an advantage by one individual over another, even to the harm of another. But notwithstanding their fundamental difference of character, magic and religion have been closely associated in the life of humanity. Dr. J. G Frazer's theory, that men began with magic and on finding it not sufficiently successful turned from it to religion, is not justified as a general theory. The religious attitude has usually been present as early as that of magic, and the two have existed along side of one another. It is quite possible and even probable that some people addicted to magic gave it up and then devoted more attention to religion. But on the other hand practices at first religious have come to be treated as though magical. This is the case when in rites and ceremonies it is maintained that if any detail is wrongly performed the rite has no effect. That comes ultimately to the ascription of power to the special words and acts; and the attitude of mind is essentially magical. There is a similar implication in the notion that a rite has no merit unless performed by a member of a particular class, as that of priests. Dr. Marett has given an account of a transition from spell to prayer. But the reverse is also found. For a prayer virtually takes the form of a spell when an advantage is supposed to be obtained according to

the number of repetitions. Certain ancient Egyptian practices, often denominated magic, had also a pseudo-religious character, or in any case were a complication of religion and magic. For the performer of the rite identified himself with the deity, whose power it was that truly achieved the result. One example alone will suffice. "Suppose you were bitten by a serpent: an appropriate formula declared to your enemy that you are the god Horus, and that you defy him: "Rise, venom, rise and fall to the earth. Horus speaketh to thee, spits upon thee. Thou does not rise any more but thou fallest, thou art weak and are not strong; thou art blind and dost not see: thy head droops and cannot rise any more; for I am Horus, the great magician". (A. Moret: *At the time of the Pharoahs*. p. 277). Magic and religion are similarly blended together in ancient Babylonian practices (See R. W. Rogers: *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*. pp. 149–153.) In the *Church Quarterly Review* of 1914 (art. viii) Dr. F. B. Jevons has treated of the relation of magic and religion and critically surveyed Dr. Frazer's theory as given in *The Golden Bough*.

ii. *Fetishism*

Fetishism has also like magic been confused with religion. At the level of primitive culture they are difficult to distinguish, chiefly because they both include similar emotional attitudes. But three things would seem to separate fetishism from genuine religion. First the fetish is almost always a material object or is associated with such. The second is that there is something superstitious in the ascription of power to the fetish. The reasons, though apparently plausible at first, rest on no enduring basis. Thirdly, if the fetish does not continue to bring the benefits which these ill-founded reasons have led men to expect, acts of violence and words of abuse are used towards it. Such attempts at compulsion are quite alien and antagonistic to religion. It must, however, be noticed that as religious practices have sometimes been performed with the attitude of magic, so also objects of religious worship, as idols, have been treated as though fetishes. As magic and fetishism have given way before the advance of religion; so also with its decline they have tended to flourish. This variation has been a fact of history even up to and including our own times, in civilisations of almost all kinds, not excluding our own.

iii. *Totemism*

It seems necessary at least to mention totemism here. In the words of J. G. Frazer : "A totem is a class of material objects which a savage regards with superstitious respects, believing that there exists between him and every member of the class an intimate and altogether special relation." "As distinguished from a fetish a totem is never an isolated individual, but always a class of objects, generally a species of animals or plants, more rarely a class of inanimate objects, very rarely a class of artificial objects". (*Totemism and Exogamy*, 1910, i. pp. 3, 4.) The totem is most often a group totem, as of a community. Sociologists, especially the French, have attempted to consider religion as arising chiefly from totemism. That there has often been a close relation between totemism and the social development and expression of religion seems correct, but in the opinion of the present writer the character of the relation cannot be understood until it is more clear why this or that class of objects has become the totem of this or that particular group. Then alone will it be possible to ascertain any fundamental kinship with religion.

APPENDIX B

i. *The Psychology of Religion*

The workers in this field are few and almost all profess Christianity or have been brought up in an environment which so far as it is religious is Christian. Seeing that, in the beginning at least, introspection is so important for psychological investigations, the greatest need in this subject is some attempt at description and analysis of their religious experience by individuals of non-Christian faiths. In the works of Christian writers there is also need of more detailed analysis and wider comparisons, and more attention to sociological implications. In addition to the books mentioned on p. 11 the following should be read,

E. S. Ames : *The Psychology of Religious Experience.* New York 1911.

G. Galloway : *The Principles of Religious Development.* 1909.

G. Steven : *The Psychology of the Christian Soul.* 1911.

W. R. Inge : *Faith and its Psychology.* 1909.

F. von Hugel : *Mystical Elements of Religion.* 1908.

W. Boyd Carpenter: *Some Permanent Elements of Religion.*

I. King : *The Development of Religion : A Study in Anthropology.* New York 1910.

C. A. F. Rhys Davids : *Buddhist Psychology : An Enquiry into the Analysis of Mind in Pali Literature.* 1914.

---

ii. *The History of Religions*

The literature in this subject generally treats of the religions separately with no marked attempts to trace influences of one on another. Studies of such influences are much needed in relation with the comparative study of religions. The following is a brief list of

general works, which give information as to the literature on different religions.

E. W. Hopkins : *The History of Religions.* New York. 1919.
G. F. Moore : *The History of Religion.* Edin. 1913.
S. Reinach : *Orpheus : A General History of Religions.*
A. Menzies : *The History of Religion.*
J. F. Clarke : *Ten Great Religions.*
D. G. Lyon : *Study in the History of Religions.* New York. 1913.

---

iii. *The Comparative Study of Religions*

There are very few books of recent date on this subject. The earlier works on the " science of religion " were devoted too much to primitive religion, or too frequently left out Christianity as though something in essence utterly different from other religions. Another defect has been their advocacy of views *about* religion rather than a presentation of the facts in a systematic impartial way. The following are recommended for reading and consultation.

J. E. Carpenter : *Comparative Religion.*and F. B. Jevons : *Comparative Religion.* Cambridge. (These are both excellent brief surveys for preliminary reading.)

L. H. Jordan: *Comparative Religion.*1905 (Somewhat overburdened with *formal* discussions of the obvious, but useful for its references to literature previous to 1905.)

F. B. Jevons : *An Introduction to the Study of Comparative Religion.* New York 1908 (Brief, but clear and suggestive.)

E. Tylor : *Primitive Culture.* 1913. (Still indispensable.)

M. Jastrow : *The Study of Religion.* 1901.

C. P. Tiele : *Elements of the Science of Religion.* 1899.

A. Lang : *Myth, Ritual, and Religion* 1899 and *The Making of Religion* 1900.

C. H. Toy : *Introduction to the History of Religions.* New York 1913.

---

iv. *The Philosophy of Religion*

The following is a short list of books on the *Philosophy of Religion.* They are all by Western writers. The great defect of the studies of this subject up to the present has been the lack of adequate attention to the empirical data of the religions, consequently the subject has remained too much like the Natural Theology of earlier days.

The work of Pfleiderer is a notable exception to this neglect of a wide empirical consideration.

* O. Pfleiderer : *The Philosophy of Religion on the Basis of its History.* English trans. Edinburgh. 1886–8

* C. C. J. Webb: *Studies in the History of Natural Theology.* Oxford 1915.

* A. Caldecotte : *The Philosophy of Religion in England and America.* (A systematic survey of the literature, but now in need of being supplemented for the twenty years 1900–1920) London 1901

* J. Lindsay ; *Recent Advances in the Theistic Philosophy of Religion.* Edinburgh 1897.

J. Caird : *Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion.* Edin. 1880.

F. Schleiermacher : *Discourses on Religion.* Eng. trs. 1893.

H. Hoffding: *The Philosophy of Religion* trs. 1906,

H. Lotze : *Outlines of the Philosophy of Religion.* Boston.

J. Ward : *The Realm of Ends ; Pluralism and Theism.* Cambridge 1911.

A. S. Pringle-Pattison : *The Idea of God in the Light of Recent Philosophy.* Oxford 1917.

W. R. Sorley : *Moral Values and the Idea of God.* Cambridge. 1918.

A. J. Balfour : *Theism and Humanism.* 1915.

C. C. J. Webb : *God and Personality.* 1919.

: *Divine Personality and Human Life.* 1920.

: *Problems in the Relations of God and Man.* 1911.

H. Rashdall : *Philosophy and Religion.* 1909.

W. R. Matthews : *Studies in Christian Philosophy.* 1921.

R. Eucken : *The Truth of Religion.* 1912.

J. E. Mactaggart : *Some Dogmas of Religion.* 1906.

G. Galloway : *Studies in the Philosophy of Religion.* 1909.

: *The Philosophy of Religion.* Edin. 1912.

* Information as to earlier literature may be obtained from these books.

INDEX

For brevity in the numbering below, the digit representing a ten or a hundred is not repeated in numbers after its first appearance in each instance: e.g. Ashton 46, 102, 51. 5, 88, 280 stands for 46, 102, 151, 155, 188, 280.

i. *Persons*

Abelson J. 127
Abraham 43, 58
Abrahams I. 244
Adam J. 139, 222
Aeschylus 104, 212, 21
Akbar 13
Ali, Ameer 316
Ali, Muhammed 316
Allen G. 85
d'Alviella G. 85, 90, 151
Amenhotis 13, 91
Anaximander 160
Anesaki M. 15.
Anselm 73
Aquinas T. 73, 7
Arjan 63, 4
Aristotle 40, 73, 159, 60 97
Asa H. J. 51
al Aschari 73
Ashton W. G. 46, 102, 51, 5, 88, 280.
Askwith E. H. 246
Asvaghosha 296, 352
Augustine St. 11, 38
Aung S. Z. 56, 193, 228
Aurelius M. 369
Avalon A. 102, 35, 236

Bailey C. 93
Baring Gould S. 42
Barnett L. D. 114, 280, 1, 349
Baynes H. 292
Beal S. 56. 72, 5, 118, 33, 73, 295
Becker C. H. 26
Bethune Baker J. F. 59, 60, 9, 126, 85, 229. 301, 15, 61
Berthelot A. 149, 90, 91
Bhandarkar R. G. 112, 3, 257
Bigg C. 77, 373
Bleek W. H. 36
Bloomfield M. 374
Bousset W. 81
Bray O. 45
Breasted J. H. 157, 8, 220
Browne E. G. 44, 77
Buch M. A. 173
Buddha 16, 21, 6, 40, 1, 3, 5, 54, 5, 117, 20, 53, 211, 24, 8, 86, 306, 10, 53, 74
Budge Wallis E. 48
Bukhari 43, 62, 70 ,264
Bulsara S. J. 238
Burgon J. 60
Burnet J. 104, 06, 59, 160, 95, 222
Burnouf E. 72
Burton E. D. 178
Butcher S. H. 187
Butler A. 42

Caird E. 82, 7, 97
Carpenter J. E. 60, 89, 151, 214, 72, 376
Carter J. B. 97
Casartelli L. C. 173
Catherine St. 83
Chaitanya 26
Chakravarti A. 168
Chamberlain B. H. 36, 46
Charles R. H. 175, 76, 8, 87, 98
Charondas 161
Ching, Emperor 340
Cicero 104
Clarke W. N. 126
Clement 76
Clodd E. 30
Codrington R. H. 35, 93
Cook A. B. 88, 89, 90, 1, 137, 286
Confucius 47, 280, 97, 346
Cowell E. B. 119
Cranmer Byng L. 341
Crawley A. E. 149
Cumont F. 134, 222, 259, 85, 88
Curtis S. 281

Dante 198
Darwin C. 81
Das Gupta S. 234
Darmesteter J. 326
Davidson A. B. 175, 213, 60
Davis F. H. 264
Dayananda 53
Dhalla M. 50, 1, 3, 74, 5, 7, 121, 35, 75, 202, 37. 370
Dickinson G. L. 210 22, 344
Dickson J. F. 312
Dion Chrysostom 211
Douglas R, K. 47
Dubois H. 310
Durkheim E. 19, 154, 285

Eck H. V. S. 245
Edkins J. 87, 103, 211, 16, 80
Eliot G. 38
Empedocles 159, 92, 220
Erasmus 77
Erman A. 92, 105
Eucken R. 3
Euripides 104, 61
Eusebios 90, 343
Ezra 57

Farnell L. R. 26, 92, 104, 6, 33, 61, 214, 91, 92
Farquhar J. N. 22, 103, 12
Farrer F. W. 70, 3, 6, 375
Fergusson J. 25
Feuerbach 27
Fletcher M. S. 178, 9, 180
Figgis J. N. 30
Flinders Petrie W. 86, 99, 187
Fox G, 67
Frazer J. G. 19, 22, 6,, 85, 213, 76, 379
Friedlander M. 51, 9
Fu Hsi, Emperor 38
Fuller B. 272
Fuller B. A. G. 233.

Gardner E. A. 96, 100, 1, 211
Geiger W. 173
Gemmell W. 118, 9, 72
Getty A. 117, 33
Ghazzali 73, 4, 181
Ghosh K. 57, 116, 67
Ghoshal S. C. 168
Giles H. A. 88, 95, 297
Giles L. 103, 347
Glover T. R. 197, 222
Gobind Singh 63, 316
Goldzieher I. 70, 4
Gomes E. H. 36, 285
Gorvalla R. F. 184
Govindacharya A. S. 112, 63, 350
Graetz H. 58, 77

Granger F. 11, 95
Grasserie R. de la. 4
Griffith R. H. 52
Groot J. M. de 47, 156
Groton W. S. 301
Grubb E. 67
Guerinot A. 57

Harris R. 21
Harrison J. E. 137, 285,
Ibn Hazim 264
Hegel 2
Herakleitos 159, 60, 95, 220
Hirayanna M. 108
Ibn Hisham 62
Hodgson T. C. 157
Hoffding H. 3, 10, 1
Hollis A. C. 151, 86
Homer 187, 220
Hume R. E, 108

Illingworth J. R. 246
Inge W. R. 159, 62, 97, 223, 345

Jain C. R. 43, 167, 333
Jaini J. L. 57, 116, 67, 8, 296, 355
James W. 3, 11
Jastrow M. 35, 6, 7, 89, 156, 217, 19, 85, 6, 8,
Jehangir, Emperor 64
Jesus 21, 40, 1, 59, 60, 7, 74, 8, 101, 27, 33, 9, 53, 201, 46, 63 83, 91, 9, 303, 4, 6, 8, 14, 66, 72, 4
Jevons F. B. 26, 85, 149, 270, 380
Joly H. 40
Jose (Rabbi) 58
Josephus 57
Jowett B. 222
Kabir 26, 131
Kaiten N. 75,
Kant I. 2
Karaka B. F. 313,
Kazi, Imam 37
a Kempis T. 372
Kern H. 119
King L. W. 36, 97, 8
Kingsbury F. 113
Kingsley M. H. 189, 208, 83, 6,
Knox G. W, 173
Kohler K. 123, 75, 7, 244, 60
Krishnashastri H. 112
Kundakunda Acharya, Sri 168

Lane T. W. 61
Lang A. 85, 187
Lang C. 11
Langdon S. 49, 219
Langley G. H. 163
Laotz 46
Lawson J. C. 21
Legge J. 47
Legge F. 134
Lindsay J. 6
Lloyd L. C. 36
Loisy A. 81
Lubbock 6
Lucian 190
Luckock H. 200
Luther M. 71, 77
Lyttelton A. 262

Macauliffe 63, 64, 131, 83, 252, 317, 63, 4
Macdonald D. B. 69, 74, 129
Macnicol N. 108, 12, 6, 235, 57, 350
Madhava 53
Mahabhagavat L. 53, 234
Mahaffy J. P. 104
Mahavira 43, 57, 304, 6
Maimonides M. 58, 9, 73, 177
Mamun, Khalif 13
Marett R. 11, 26, 87, 92, 379
Margoliouth D. 375

Markham C. 186, 342
Marti K. 15
Maspero G. 40
Masudi 13
Max Muller F. W. 3, 5, 13, 21. 87, 117, 9, 49, 50, 72, 285
Mendelsohn M. 74
Mercier, Cardinal 73
Merz J. T. 15
Mill J. S. 2
Mills L. H. 49, 102, 97
Mitra R 56, 72
Modi J. J. 198, 288, 90, 98, 313, 21, 2, 6, 7
Moffatt J. 126
Mohammed 41, 43, 61, 70, 129 53, 263, 374
Montefiore C. G. 81, 123, 242
Moore G. H. 104, 106, 62, 92
Moore G. E. 3
More J. H. 56, 119
Moret A. 97, 158, 212, 48
Morgenstern J. 138, 214, 19.78
Morris W. 45
Moses 44, 58, 153, 77, 263
Moulton J. H. 51, 96, 123, 35, 56, 74, 201
Muir J. 52, 3
Murray G. 45, 76, 106, 191, 252, 3 343
Murray D. 359
Muslim 62, 264

Nagarjuna 75
Nagasena 192
Nahar P. C. 57, 116, 67
Namdev 235
Nanak 64, 316,
Nariman G. K. 119
Naville E. 346
Newton I. 33
Nicholson R. A. 42, 75, 194, 371
Nyaya Vijaya Muni 167, 296, 355

Oesterley W. 253, 4
Okakura T. 89, 364
Oldenberg H. 16, 224, 7, 8, 54, 5, 6, 353, 74
Oldham C. F. 91
Orchard W. E. 253
Origen 96
Ottley R. 57, 243, 360

Parker E. H. 46, 7, 103, 281, 97, 347
Palmer H. 181
Paul St. 178, 9, 201, 66
Peter Lombard 73
Peter St. 66
Phidias 211
Philips M. 278
Phillips G. E. 113
Philo 76, 7, 162
Pindar 197
Plato 156, 9, 60, 97, 253
Plotinus 162, 223
de la Vallee Poussin L. 228
Pythagoras 190

Quintilian 100

Rabia 83
Ragnan H. de 42, 200, 329
Rai L. 53
Rajagopalachariar T. 166
Ranade R. D. 163, 4
Raqhib Imam 61
Rashdall H. 262, 3
Rehman J. ur 73
Renel C. 91
Renouf, Le Page 49
Reville A. 81, 90, 91, 285
Rhys Davids Mrs. C. 56, 117, 69, 70, 1, 93, 225, 6, 8, 351, 64
Rhys Davids T. W. 56 117, 64, 312, 52

Richard T. 56, 102, 18, 9, 20
Rivers W. R. 91
Rogers C. F. 9
Rogers R. W. 49, 138, 340, 80
Ross J. 86
Rumi, Jalal ud din 264

Sabatier A. 11
Saghani H. 62
Salmond S. D. F. 199
Sanjana 50, 51, 173, 5, 237
S'ankara 53, 75, 111, 6, 66
Sallustius 76, 190
Satow E. 359
Saunders K. J. 56
Saussaye de la P. C. 14, 158, 86, 284, 6
Schleiermacher 2
Schweitzer A. 375
Seneca 197
Shapur II. 51
Siebeck H. 5
Singer S. 58, 277, 98, 314, 23, 8
Singh K. 131, 6, 83, 9
Smith W. R. 17, 94, 285
Socrates 160
Spence L. 284
Spencer H. 81, 5, 149
Spence Hardy R. 312, 67
Spinoza 74
Srinivasa 163
Staley V. 301, 15
Stanton V. H. 126, 260
Steindorff G. 91, 133, 217
Stephen C. 262, 305
Stevenson Mrs. S. 57, 292, 310, 20, 5
Stratton G. M. 11
Strong D. M. 56, 118, 71, 126
Strong T. B. 126
Subrahmanya Iyer V. 111, 9, 20, 72
Suzuki D. T. 56, 120, 72, 353, 69
Swete H. B. 127

Tabari 61
Taylor C 58, 358
Tennant F. R. 218, 45, 48
Tertullian 60
Theresa St. 83
Thompson F. 378
Thompson P. A. 365
Tilak B. G. 234
Toy C. H. 85, 240
Tukaram 26, 235
Tulsi Das 67
Tylor E. 149, 50, 270, 85
Tyrrel G. 74

Vasahar Manikka 113
Vidyarnava S. C. 295

Warde Fowler W. 90, 3, 7, 204, 14
Warren H. C. 56, 171, 227, 312, 57
Webb C, C. J. 154, 286
Weinel H. 375
Whiffen T. 44
White D, 262
Whitehead 94
Whitney W. D. 2
Wiedemann A. 157, 8, 90, 346
Williams Jackson A. V. 201, 374
Wood J. H. 167, 234
Woodward F. L. 228, 96
Workman H. B. 367
Wulf M. 73

Zarathustra 43, 50, 1, 104, 53, 313, 22
Zeller E. 76, 103, 95

ii. *Subjects*

This section of the index should be used in conjunction with the table of contents.

Africa 189, 207, 82
Algonkins 189
Amazons 44, 89, 190
Ana-Baptists 67

Babylonia 35, 7, 45, 9, 88, 9, 93, 4, 33, 38, 56, 96, 214, 7, 8, 87, 8, 303
Bahaism 302
Buddhism 5, 12, 6, 8, 23, 4, 5, 37, 40, 5, 54, 6, 66, 70, 1, 2, 80, 3, 4, 101, 2, 6–9, 36, 8, 48, 69–72, 83, 91, 3, 9, 211, 23, 8, 30, 47, 54, 5, 73, 5, 9, 80, 91, 95, 303, 10, 20, 5, 39, 50, 9, 64, 6, 9.
Bushmen 36

China 24, 8, 37, 45, 7, 86, 8, 95, 133. 55, 6, 211, 6, 70, 9, 80, 97, 302, 40.
Christianity 5, 9, 11, 4, 6, 8, 21, 22, 3, 5, 6, 8, 37, 8, 40, 1, 2, 3, 57–61, 6, 7, 9, 70, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 81, 3, 101, 20, 5, 33, 6, 8, 40, 1, 56, 8, 67, 78, 9, 84, 95, 7, 9, 200, 1, 2, 6, 45, 59, 60, 6, 7, 8, 73, 4, 5, 83, 5, 7, 91, 2, 6, 9, 301. 3, 4, 6, 14, 23, 6, 32, 44, 59, 65, 6, 70, 2
Confucianism 38, 47, 155, 279, 346

Delphi 40, 83

Egypt 40, 48, 88, 91, 7, 9, 105, 33, 56, 7, 86, 7, 8, 190, 6, 212, 7, 9. 22, 48, 71, 304

Greece 89, 90, 6. 8, 100–6, 23, 39, 41, 56, 9, 62, 79. 90, 5–6, 200, 10, 20, 1, 53, 79, 91, 332, 42, 69.

Hinduism 12, 6, 8, 23, 4, 5, 35, 43, 4, 52, 66, 9, 71, 5, 83, 9, 90, 1, 100, 11, 2, 5, 6–16. 37, 8, 41, 8, 56, 8, 79, 83, 4, 91, 4, 9, 200, 8, 12, 4, 7, 30, 1, 56, 66, 71, 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 80, 2, 7, 93–5, 6, 303, 7, 9–10, 23, 39, 47, 65, 70

Islam 16, 8, 23, 4, 5, 6, 37, 41, 58, 61, 2, 6, 9, 70, 3, 83, 101, 28, 31, 6, 9, 41, 58, 81, 4, 8, 93, 7, 9, 201, 8, 63 6, 8, 73, 5, 6, 301, -5, 7–8, 15, 23, 9, 61, 5, 71

Jainism 12, 57, 67, 70, 2, 83, 4, 101, 16, 53, 67, 83, 91, 228. 9, 30, 56, 73, 80, 91, 96, 97, 303, 4, 7, 12, 20, 5, 54, 64
Japan 24, 8, 36, 46, 80, 91, 7, 133. 8, 50, 1, 73, 84, 273, 82, 302
Judaism 16, 23, 4, 45, 57, 8, 9, 66, 7, 73, 8, 80. 3, 6, 94, 101, 20, 2, 3, 9, 38, 40, 1, 50, 8, 75, 7, 7, 9, 84, 93, 7, 8, 9, 200, 1, 13, 7, 40, 5, 52. 9, 66, 7, 8, 74, 6, 7, 80, 91, 2, 8, 302–6, 14.

Kabbalism 77
Karens 213
Khonds 189
Korea 25

Magic 3, 207, 85, 379
Manicheism 140, 1, 229
Masai 185
Mexico 40, 90, 188, 282.
Mithraism 258
Montanism 67

Nandi 151
Neo platonism 158, 62, 223
New Zealand 189

Peru 186, 9, 341
Positivists 304
Pythagoreans 160, 262

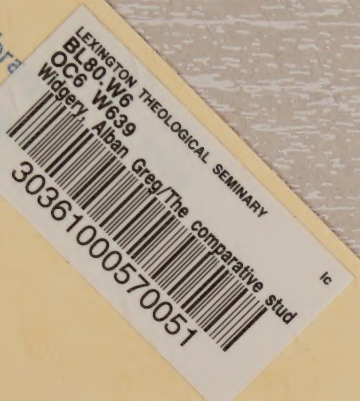
Quakers 67, 69, 305

Rome 18, 22, 38, 89, 90, 3, 5, 7, 134, 7, 90, 214, 5,

Scholasticism 73
Shamanism 25
Shintoism 46, 89: 101, 55, 88, 287, 358
Siam 190, 365
Sikhism 26, 38, 45, 63, 9, 84, 101, 31, 6, 82, 4, 99, 51, 66, 73, 81, 301, 16, 29, 62, 4, 70.
Sthanakavasis 312.
Stoicism 76, 90, 161, 95, 7, 212, 21
Sufiism 42, 75, 6, 7, 84, 193, 296, 308, 44,

Tantrism 84
Taoism 46, 156, 347, 59.
Teutons 158, 86, 8
Theosophy 22, 77, 78
Traducianism 195

Zoroastrianism 16, 8, 35, 50, 66, 7, 75, 8, 80, 120, 2, 35, 7, 8, 40, 1, 56, 72, 3, 84, 8, 93, 7, 8, 200, 1, 14, 5, 36, 57, 66, 7, 8, 74, 5, 88, 98, 312. 20, 55, 64, 70.

46479

Bosworth Memorial Libra
Lexington Theological Sem
Lexington, Kentucky